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CSSR Delegate Outlines Pact CFE Proposal

AU0407170589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Jun 89 p 7

[CTK report: "The New Warsaw Pact Proposal Is Submitted: The Speech by the Head of the Czechoslovak Delegation in Vienna"]

[Text] Vienna—On Thursday [29 June] Ladislav Balcar, head of the Czechoslovak delegation, addressed the Vienna talks on Conventional Forces in Europe [CFE]. On behalf of the Warsaw Pact member states, he referred to the possibility of an alternative solution to the question of dividing territory from the Atlantic to the Urals into four zones, including a reduction in the numbers of tactical strike aircraft, combat helicopters, tanks, armored personnel carriers, and artillery.

The central European part of the zone on the Warsaw Pact side would include the GDR, Poland, the CSSR, Hungary, and the Baltic, Belorussian, Transcarpathian, and Kiev Military Districts. On the NATO side this zone would include Denmark, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, the FRG, France, and Great Britain. After a reduction, 910,000 troops, 1,120 strike aircraft, 1,250 combat helicopters, 13,300 tanks, 11,500 artillery pieces, and 20,750 armored personnel carriers would be situated in this zone on each side.

Northern Europe would include the northern part of the Leningrad Military District and Norway. Here, after reductions, each side would have at its disposal 20,000 troops, 30 strike aircraft, 30 combat helicopters, 200 tanks, 1,000 artillery pieces, and 150 armored personnel carriers.

Romania, Bulgaria, and the Odessa, North Caucasian, and Transcaucasian Military Districts, Italy, Greece, and Turkey would belong to the southern part of Europe. After reductions, 270,000 troops, 290 strike aircraft, 360 combat helicopters, 5,200 tanks, 8,500 artillery pieces, and 5,750 armored personnel carriers would remain in this zone on each side.

Finally, the southern part of the Leningrad Military District, and the Moscow, Volga, and Urals Military Districts, and also Spain, Portugal, and Iceland would belong to the rearguard region of Europe. Here, after a reduction by both sides, 150,000 troops, 60 strike aircraft, 60 combat helicopters, 1,300 tanks, 3,000 artillery pieces, and 1,350 armored personnel carriers would remain.

This alternative to the regional division and to fixing sub-levels does not mean, however, that the Warsaw Pact member states are abandoning their original proposals which were submitted by the Bulgarian and GDR delegations on 25-30 May of this year. It confirms the efforts by the socialist states to seek a flexible, compromising point of view which could lead to the accelerated resolution of this complicated problem.

Axen Addresses Nuclear-Free Zone Meeting

AU3006090389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Jun 89 p 6

[Report on speech by Hermann Axen, Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, at the opening of a meeting of the International Liaison Office for Nuclear-Free Zones in Berlin on 27 June: "Regional Settlements—a Possibility of How to Struggle Against the Nuclear Arms Race"]

[Excerpt] In his opening speech at the meeting of the International Liaison Office, Hermann Axen pointed out that these discussions are presenting the opportunity for an exchange of experiences on what has been achieved following the meeting in June last year, and what can be done in the future to realize the common goal, to create a world without nuclear weapons.

The GDR welcomes the resumption of Soviet-U.S. talks on strategic offensive weapons with adherence to the ABM Treaty, Hermann Axen stressed. The GDR positively assesses the fact that the signing of the final document of the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting has finally made possible the opening of talks on conventional disarmament and the continuation of talks on confidence-building measures.

The supreme maxim of the GDR's foreign policy is, and continues to be, to work purposefully and resourcefully for peace and security. Particularly in the year of the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II, the citizens of the GDR are remembering the historic lesson, the legacy of over 50 million people who died in the war: War must be prevented before it breaks out!

The GDR Has Launched Disarmament Initiatives of Its Own

In order to enhance the process of disarmament, the GDR, loyal to its antifascist tradition and aware of its obligation to to everything so that war will never again start from German soil, but only peace, has been acting in this spirit in an exposed location in Europe for the past 4 decades.

However, there are still forces that cling to the dangerous cliches of military strength and the striving for military superiority. They continue to hold the view that nuclear deterrence ensures maximum security. And it is this old thinking in categories of deterrence that characterizes the NATO comprehensive concept which was adopted in Brussels. Whereas the Warsaw Pact is putting into practice its military doctrine, which is aimed at defending peace and security, NATO insists on its aggressive doctrine of deterrence, which continues to include the possibility of nuclear first strikes, Axen emphasized.

Following the international meeting in June 1988, the GDR has launched new disarmament initiatives and taken independent disarmament steps. Disarmament through deeds—this is the guideline of the resolution of the GDR National Defense Council, which is aimed at unilaterally reducing the National People's Army by 10,000 men by

1990, irrespective of talks, and reducing military expenditure by 10 percent. The GDR is carrying out this unilateral disarmament measure despite the fact that the military threat at its western border has by no means decreased.

Brussels Summit Did Not Use Chance

The fact that the Brussels NATO summit finally had to provide an answer to disarmament proposals that had long been submitted by the Warsaw Pact states constitutes a certain progress, Hermann Axen stated. The GDR has already expressed the view that the proposal of U.S. President Bush on conventional disarmament points in the right direction. The proposal submitted by the Warsaw Pact states in April this year to open parallel talks on the reduction of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, including the nuclear components of dual-capable systems, is in keeping with humanistic logic.

The answer that NATO provided at the Brussels summit in reply to our proposal to open talks on tactical nuclear weapons is disappointing, to put it mildly, Axen emphasized. The chance of breaking the vicious circle of "modernization" and "countermodernization" was unfortunately not used by the NATO summit.

The creation of nuclear-free zones is a task and a reality of a global character, Hermann Axen pointed out. The Latin American states and the states of the Pacific Forum are carrying out active work within the framework of their existing nuclear-free zones. They have furnished proof that it is possible to set up nuclear-free zones. The principle of regional solutions works and essentially contributes to international detente and security.

According to information received so far, about 30 specific national meetings and international conferences that dealt with these issues have been held since June of last year, Hermann Axen pointed out. The following can be stated after the first large-scale meeting 1 year ago:

1. The peoples have increasingly become aware that nuclear-free zones exist in various regions.
2. Regional nuclear-free zones support the struggle against nuclear arms race and against the proliferation of these weapons. They are conducive to the global reduction of nuclear weapons systems.
3. Calls are increasing that nuclear weapons be only deployed in countries that possess them and that are capable of using them.

As has long been known, this is also the GDR's position.

On the proposal of last year's international meeting, a liaison office has been established in the GDR after the Berlin meeting. It has set itself the task providing the participants of the Berlin meeting and other interested parties with further information on the progress of political and practical processes in connection with these issues, to establish contacts, and to exchange information and experiences.

The key element on our proposal is to organize meetings at intervals of 1 or 2 years or—if international developments make it necessary—even more often, to exchange views, discuss proposals, and undertake a review of achievements that have been made by mankind to banish the nuclear danger. [passage omitted]

Nuclear-Free Zones Meeting Ends

AU0307170589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Jun 89 p 2

[ND report: "Berlin Meeting: Do Not Permit Break in Disarmament Process Now"]

[Text] Berlin—The 2-day meeting of the International Liaison Office for nuclear-free zones in Berlin was successfully concluded on Wednesday evening [28 June]. In a frank and constructive atmosphere, 59 speakers from 37 countries of all continents and of 10 international organizations took stock of the results achieved following the international meeting on nuclear-free zones in June 1988, and discussed new steps.

The lively exchange of views focused on the question of how disarmament and detente can be pushed by national, regional, and international contributions. There was agreement that no break must be permitted in the disarmament process, and that this process must include nuclear as well as conventional weapons.

On the second day, the discussion was chaired by Gerald Goetting, GDR State Council deputy chairman and Christian Democratic Union chairman; Gerhard Lindner, vice president of the GDR Peace Council and deputy chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany; Horst Kreter, vice president of the GDR Peace Council and secretary of the National Democratic Party of Germany Main Committee; and Professor Guenter Drefahl.

In his final statement, the GDR Peace Council president thanked all participants for their substantive contributions. He said that the meeting had proved once again that it was possible for people of different political, ideological, and religious views, representatives of states, parties, and parliaments, organizations and movements to meet, if and when the ensuring of peace and the prevention of mankind's nuclear self-destruction were at stake. He said that for all regional particular features and traditions, the realization had been accepted worldwide that the creation of nuclear-free zones was an extremely important and necessary step on the road to liberating mankind from the scourge of nuclear weapons.

Professor Drefahl confirmed that the GDR would also continue to meet its political and moral responsibility for peace at the center of Europe in the 40th year of its existence, and, in particular, in view of the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II.

Sixth Democratic Front Congress Continues

Presidium Elected

AU0507131489 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 29 Jun 89 p 1

["Presidium of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania Elected at the Sixth Democratic Front Congress"]

[Text]

1. Agim Kellici
2. Aleks Luarasi
3. Ethem Barhami
4. Gjela Biba
5. Haxhi Aliko
6. Hysen Lacej
7. Ismail Kadare
8. Isuf Kalo
9. Koli Mone
10. Kozeta Hoxha
11. Leka Shkurti
12. Lena Ristani
13. Lumturi Rexha
14. Mahmudia Basha
15. Maman Saliu
16. Mark Vuji
17. Mehmet Elezi
18. Nexhmije Hoxha
19. Omer Haxhia
20. Pilo Peristeri
21. Selami Pulaha
22. Strati Marko
23. Tish Daia
24. Themie Thomai
25. Vangjel Ngjela

Nexhmije Hoxha, chairman of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania

Deputy chairmen: 1 Pilo Peristeri
2. Hysen Lacej
3. Ismail Kadare
4. Mark Vuji

Secretary: Leka Shkurti.

Congressional Resolution

AU0507131789 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 29 Jun 89 p 1

["Resolution of the Sixth Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania"]

[Text] The Sixth Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania, having heard and discussed the report entitled "The Democratic Front—Broadest Support for the Party in the Nation's Socialist Construction," delivered by Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, chairman of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, has resolved:

1. To approve the report, "The Democratic Front—Broadest Support for the Nation's Socialist Construction."

2. To make the Greeting of Comrade Ramiz Alia in the name of the Albanian Workers Party Central Committee, the Report of the General Council, and the Call of the Congress, the basis of the activities of the organizations of the Democratic Front in order to increase their role in the education and mobilization of the masses, and to push labor forward in every field.

On the basis of these important documents, the organizations of the Front will assess their tasks, and will work with initiative and creativity, under the party's leadership, to lead the masses into comprehensive action in order to arrive at the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland with the greatest possible results.

Sixth Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania.

Tirana, 28 June 1989.

Delegates' Speeches

AU0507155789

[Editorial Report] Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian on 28 and 29 June carries on pages 2-7 and 3-5 19,000- and 10,000-word reports of speeches by delegates at the Sixth Congress of the Democratic Front in Tirana on 27 and 28 June.

The report in the paper of 28 June states that Astrit Frakulla, delegate from Elbasan, said in her speech: "The period since the Fifth Democratic Front Congress has been one of consolidation at the Steel of the Party Combine." "In these years, general industrial production has tripled. The production plan for this year up to 25 June was exceeded by 11 million leks. In the past 2 to 3 years, the value of production for export has doubled."

Selami Pulaha, a delegate from Tirana, is reported as saying in his speech: "Our work in the field of history, with its strong reasoning and sound academic treatment, has also met with a positive response abroad, increasingly attracting the attention of foreign researchers.

"All these achievements in the science of history have been recorded with the help of the splendid conditions created by the party, and with the special care and constant guidance of Comrade Enver Hoxha personally, whose works have been and remain a guiding compass, a brilliant model of how historical events and phenomena should be analyzed from the viewpoint of historical materialism.

"Kosovar researchers have also made an important contribution to the study of our common history, language, and culture. Despite the difficult conditions of savage, chauvinist oppression, they have spoken out with dignity and skill on the fundamental issues of the identity and affirmation of the Albanian nation.

"Our historical work has been successfully waging a harsh struggle against many currents of historiography characterized by the denial of proper historical goals, by nationalism, chauvinism, and so forth. It has used facts and evidence to refute a range of anti-Albanian theories that have recently been revived, denying the indigenous character of the Albanians on their territories and denying them any positive contribution to history."

Pali Miska, minister of agriculture, is reported as saying: "The constant progress of our cooperativist order refutes all the charges levelled against the collectivization of agriculture by revisionists in power in former socialist countries, who allege that it is incapable of meeting today's demands for progress. It shows clearly that the difficulties and failures of agriculture in revisionist countries do not stem from the Leninist idea of cooperation, but from its abandonment, from revisionism, and from the denial of Marxist-Leninist theories.

"Our country has a modern and organized agriculture, Comrade Pali Miska said later. For more than the last decade, it has secured the people's bread and more than 85 percent of their other foodstuffs; it has employed all the able-bodied labor force in the countryside and carries the main burden of socialist accumulation. In comparison with 1950, agricultural output in 1988 was 4.8 times higher, while the population was 2.6 times greater. In comparison with 1980, the general incomes of agricultural cooperatives in 1988 were 31.3 percent higher, the funds for consumption were 37.6 percent higher, and incomes per worker were 14.5 percent higher."

Jup Kastrati, a delegate from Shkoder, is reported as saying: "Today, in the era of socialism, the unified, national, literary Albanian language has become one of the richest languages of Europe, a true lexical and phraseological treasure chest, with about 100,000 words, and many opportunities to create new words. We are rightly proud of the richness and comprehensive character of our language, and its ability to express human thoughts and feelings fully, precisely, and with the finest nuances.

"The demand of today's patriotic Kosovars to keep alive Albanian, their mother tongue, as a matter of vital importance, is therefore perfectly just. The people of Kosovo are fighting for their national identity. The intelligentsia of Kosovo are distinguished for their wisdom and brilliance, and are showing themselves to be tactful and cool-headed. They have won the sympathy, admiration, and respect of the whole world. Contemporary personalities of national culture in Kosovo, academicians, professors, writers, and journalists, can be imprisoned, interned, and even liquidated, but the Albanian language and Albanian culture cannot be put behind bars, and cannot be made to disappear. Our history through the millenia has shown this."

Leonora Kamberi, a delegate from Gjirokaster, is reported as saying: "It is difficult for me to mention all the changes that have taken place among the Greek minority. I merely wish to stress that the people of the Greek minority enjoy under the Constitution all the democratic rights and freedoms of every Albanian citizen. They are proud, and hold their heads high, living happily and confident of the future. This is not merely because of what has been written into the Constitution and put formally onto paper, as might happen in some places, but because these rights are a reality in all spheres of economic, social, political, educational, and cultural life. It could hardly be otherwise, because the people are in power among us, and they are led by a Marxist party that has consistently followed a correct Leninist policy on the national question since the National Liberation War."

"Our Greek friends who visited the Gjirokaster Pedagogical Institute and the villages of the minority have seen this reality with their own eyes. However, there are also enemies in the world, who make slander their profession and talk of the alleged denial of human rights in Albania! Who are these people? They are those who trample on these rights in the United States, the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and elsewhere.

"We say to them: You would do better to look at yourselves. We fare much better. We are surrounded by good things, equal among equals."

Kujtesa Mazreku, a delegate from the region of Has in Kukes District, is reported as saying: "For more than a century, we have been teaching our children the lines of our great poet:

'With our neighbors across the mountain peaks
Let us live in peace, be they Slavs or Greeks,
But keeping it firmly in our sights
That we always respect each other's rights.'

"However, as we know, on the other side of the mountains, even the names of Skenderbeg and Naim [Naim Frasheri, 19th century Albanian poet], are forbidden to our Kosovar brothers and sisters. At the end of the 20th century, when the world calls for civilization and brotherhood between peoples, chauvinist hotheads are mounting a medieval inquisition. The Front organization in the region of has firmly supported the correct line of the party, and its wise policy of good-neighborliness and genuine brotherhood with the peoples of the Balkans."

In the report in BASHKIMI on 29 June, Vito Kapo, minister of light industry, is reported as saying: "Our people are both aware and proud of certain important aspects of the prosperity that socialism has secured for us, and the fact that socialism has made them masters of their own destiny and that of free Albania. However, they also know that rates of general growth have not met the demands of our tasks or of the times. However, is this a defect of a system that must be changed, as Gorbachev and the capitalists claim in chorus? In no way. The Khrushchevs and Gorbachevs have not led socialism forward; on the contrary, they have corrupted it and turned their country into a hegemonistic, militarist state in order to seize other countries in the world. Socialism demands liberation, not oppression, and he who oppresses someone else cannot be free himself, and thus cannot secure himself any kind of prosperity."

The delegate Besim Rama is reported as saying: "I have prepared this speech together with my border-guard comrades. It is an honor for us to be stationed at the border post at Qafe Prushi in Tropoje, which takes its name from the nearby village. The echoes of history have resounded here! What has this historic mountain pass witnessed? Like the rest of the border of our homeland, it has witnessed vigilance, struggle, and determination in defending our lands, language, and freedom. It is the patriotism of our people that has scotched all the plans of our savage enemies, and preserved the Albanians from assimilation for centuries.

"Concern to guard the border is not only a matter for border guards, said the uniformed Besim Rama, commissar of the border post. It is a concern of the people and of everybody, from Pioneers of Enver to patriotic veterans. In our nearby villages of Zogaj and Prush, they have sweet honey for their friends and a keen eye and a heart of gunpowder for their enemies.

"The border post is closely tied to the people. Our unity is unbreakable, and we watch and act together in everything. Together with the local people, we have caught all violators of the border. We carry out our defense exercises, work our fields, and spend our free time together. We cooperate in all our political, artistic, and sports activities, in our meetings and talks, and especially in economic mass actions. As a unit, we have met from our own resources the border guards' needs for milk and meat 100 percent, and for vegetables 85 percent. We will raise these targets in the future, especially in this jubilee year of the liberation of the homeland.

"We read and study daily. Comrade Enver Hoxha's book, "Always Vigilant," is always open in front of us. We are on brotherly terms with our cadres and soldiers, and the border post is a real family. We follow closely the progress of the homeland in the press and on the radio and television, and our hearts grow strong like mountains, and our eyes become keener."

Lefteri Male, a delegate from Korce District, is reported as saying: "The villages of Prespe [area with a Slav minority], were among the most backward and despised in the past. Poverty, misery, savage feudal-bourgeois exploitation, ignorance, and disease made a living grave for the people of Prespe. The tradition of migrant labor was a severe scourge. We have not forgotten this bitter past, because it illuminates and makes us more aware of the era of the party.

"Our lives, our present, and our future are closely tied to the party that Enver Hoxha founded. Therefore, we strive and labor alongside our Albanian brothers. We are equal and free, masters of our land, the mountains, and the lake, and masters of ourselves."

"The increasing material prosperity of the cooperativists has led to a higher level of culture in our way of life. More than 95 percent of our families live in fine, new houses, with furniture and other modern appliances such as refrigerators, washing machines, and television sets.

"We are living witnesses to the correct policy pursued by our party. We enjoy all the rights and freedoms that are not merely guaranteed to us by the Constitution, but are exercised in our lives. We have rights of every kind: We have our mother tongue, our schools, culture, folklore, and everything, just like our Albanian brothers."

"We live contentedly in Albania and have no need for the 'concern' of anybody abroad. Let all our enemies, imperialists, and revisionists, wherever they are, know: Nobody lives better than we do in Albania, the only socialist country in the world. We can say with all our hearts: How blessed we are! So, we are and shall in generations to come remain grateful and indebted to the party of Enver Hoxha, that brought us out of darkness into light."

Call of Congress

AU0507122789

[Editorial Report] Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian on 30 June carries on page 1 a 3,000-word "Appeal of the Sixth Congress of the Democratic Front Of Albania." The appeal mentions the importance of carrying out economic plans and mass actions, the need "to increase the work of the Front organizations for the ideological and political education of the masses," and states that "The Democratic Front unreservedly supports the foreign policy of the party and the Albanian state."

Carcani Congratulates Greece's Tzannetakis

AU0407194589 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 4 Jul 89

[Text] Comrade Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has sent the following telegram of congratulations to Tzannis Tzannetakis, prime minister of the Republic of Greece:

On the occasion of your appointment to the post of prime minister of the Greek Republic, it is my pleasure to convey to you sincere greetings and best wishes for successes in your duties.

I avail myself of this opportunity to express my confidence that the friendly relations between our two neighboring countries will develop and strengthen constantly for the benefit of our two peoples, peace, and security in the region.

Zhivkov Visits Smolyan; Meets Diplomats, Others

Meets Diplomatic Corps

AU0507102689 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 5 Jul 89

[Excerpt] The traditional meeting between Comrade Todor Zhivkov and the chiefs of diplomatic missions accredited in Bulgaria began in the Smolyan Municipality today.

A short while ago we were connected with our Sofia radio special correspondents in Smolyan. This is what we heard from Tsveti Gerov:

[Begin Gerov recording] "This meeting is, above all, a new manifestation of our people's peace-loving spirit, of their aspiration to strengthen and expand friendship and cooperation with all states in the world. This is the second time, since 1983, that Smolyan has played host to the traditional meeting and provided an opportunity for the diplomats to become more closely acquainted with the Bulgarian people's industriousness and hospitality, with the great successes in socioeconomic development achieved in this area, and with the even more ambitious plans for its future, with its ancient and contemporary history, with the Rhodope population, which is lively and emotional, just like the mountain of their homeland.

The meeting began only 2 hours ago, but the first conversations among the guests expressed the favorable, friendly, and cordial atmosphere reigning among them.

In one of the halls of the [name indistinct] Smolyan representive hotel, the leaders of the diplomatic missions and their spouses were introduced to Comrade Zhivkov.

Later on Comrade Todor Zhivkov and the officials accompanying him, including Comrades Georgi Atanasov, Milko Balev, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Andrey Lukanov, Georgi Yordanov, Dimitur Stanishev, and the diplomats were cordially greeted by thousands of inhabitants and guests in Smolyan.

On the central square a guard of honor presented arms to the first party and state leader, and the National Anthem of the People's Republic of Bulgaria was played by a military band.

In front of the Municipal People's Council building the guests were greeted by young girls dressed in traditional Rhodope costumes who, according to an ancient Bulgarian custom, offered bread and salt to the guests and presented a bunch of wild geraniums, and various bouquets of flowers. They also performed one of the most popular, traditional Rhodope folk songs, [title indistinct].

Following this ceremony, a meeting of the Smolyan Municipal Council People's Council with the guests of honor began in one of the halls of the People's Council building. Kostadin (Kobashev), chairman of the Smolyan Municipal People's Council Executive Committee, delivered an address on the socioeconomic development of the area. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Further on Meeting

AU0607072589 Sofia BTA in English 2107 GMT 5 Jul 89

[Text] Smolyan, July 5 (BTA)—State Council President Mr Todor Zhivkov had a meeting today with the chiefs of the diplomatic missions accredited in Bulgaria, in the Alpine city of Smolyan (southern Bulgaria).

At the official dinner given by him in honour of the diplomats and their wives Mr Todor Zhivkov spoke of the deep restructuring in all spheres of life underway in this country. The Bulgarian leader pointed out that the restructuring is not and cannot be a negation of what has been achieved till the present but it is its continuation and further development under the new internal and international conditions. The first results of the restructuring are considerable and hopeful. They inspire optimism, said he.

Mr Todor Zhivkov dwelled on the great importance of the company organization and the new forms of management in economy. They, along with the new positions of the territorial communities, are a promising material base for the development of the processes of democratization in the society. He stressed that everything is carried out on the basis of law, with the transference of the power to the places where people work and live.

We understand that we are in the beginning of the road and that the most important is forthcoming, said Mr Todor Zhivkov. We are realists and we know that it will not be easy, that we will meet uncertainties on the road to the new. We will meet obstacles, noted he.

Mr Todor Zhivkov dwelled on the democratic base of the restructuring in this country and noted that there cannot be any forward movement if it lacks democratic base.

Mr Todor Zhivkov stressed that the principles and aims of the restructuring in the Soviet Union and Bulgaria are coinciding. We had the opportunity to convince ourselves in this during the recent talks with the Soviet leadership and Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, said he.

Dwelling on certain foreign policy issues the Bulgarian leader pointed out that the interdependence between the states in the new conditions acquire qualitatively new dimensions. In the present interrelated and interdependent world not a single country is in the position to solve the questions of its development and its security by itself. Nowadays it is not only the socialist countries that restructure themselves, Europe and the world are also restructuring themselves. We support unreservedly the new political thinking which is the position of all honest politicians in the East and in the West, of all who serve sincerely to the cause of peace, stressed he.

For us, as a state and people, peace and stability, trust and cooperation, are a durable national need and invariable international responsibility, that is why Bulgaria takes active part in the CSCE process, said Mr Todor Zhivkov.

Of special importance for us are the good relations with the neighbouring countries, said he stressing that Bulgaria will continue to make everything possible, depending on her, for the strengthening of security, understanding and cooperation in the Balkans.

There is no problem that cannot be solved between Bulgaria and her neighbours. In this respect we have experience too: positive, as well as edifying, emphasized the Bulgarian leader.

Mr Todor Zhivkov's traditional meeting with the diplomatic corps started in the tourist resort of Pamporovo, close to the city of Smolyan.

Later in the day Mr Todor Zhivkov and the diplomats were cordially greeted with the melodius songs characteristic for this region in Bulgaria by thousands of Smolyan's citizens. One of the Rhodope songs sang by Valya Balkanska, of the city of Smolyan, is the only song of mankind's folk heritage recorded in the message by the earth which is flying on the U.S. space station "Voyager-2".

At a meeting with the leadership of the city the diplomats were acquainted with the high rates of the socioeconomic and cultural development of this region which has been rather backward 40 years ago. These rates surpass considerably some of the average national indices.

The guests saw the cultural and historical sights of the city.

The doyen of the diplomatic corps Mr Egon Rommel, ambassador of the GDR, spoke on behalf of the diplomats at the dinner.

He stressed that as early as the first hours of the visit in the city of Smolyan, through concrete examples, the guests have convinced themselves in the successful economic and social development of Bulgaria in the years after the victory of the socialist revolution. The ambassador pointed out that what has been achieved in Bulgaria during this period brings recognition in everybody regardless of his views.

He also stressed the important role of Bulgaria in the international life and international exchange, the numerous initiatives undertaken by her for the development of the peaceful cooperation between the peoples. All of us, who are partners and witness Bulgaria's foreign policy, know the activity and purposefulness with which you and your government and the public forces supporting it, stand for peace, disarmament and fruitful cooperation between the peoples, said Mr Egon Rommel.

Confers With City Leaders

AU0507192489 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] Comrade Todor Zhivkov met today with the leaders of Smolyan Municipality. Atanas Atanasov, first secretary of the Smolyan Municipal Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], informed him about the topical issues that the Communists and all the workers are solving at present in order to implement the premises of the December Plenum of the BCP Central Committee, and about the latest directions for developing agriculture.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov made a high assessment of the work of the municipal leadership and emphasized that the country can take pride in this unique, renewed region, with its industrious and patriotic people. He recommended that the concern for accelerated development should be organically combined with concern for protecting nature's gifts and the natural environment and that the production of ecologically pure agricultural products should be expanded.

The top party and state leader stressed that there exist possibilities for developing electronics and other industrial subsectors, as well as for further opening the municipality up to other municipalities. The development of the tourism industry, he said, should be carried out by fully utilizing the existing housing stock.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov also dealt with other issues connected with implementing the party's July Concept.

Council of Ministers Chairman Georgi Atanasov took part in the meeting, as well as Pantaley Pachov, first secretary of Plovdiv Oblast BCP Committee, and Stoyanka Krustenova, chairman of the Executive Committee of Plovdiv Oblast People's Council.

Defense Minister Queried on Military Reductions

AU0507113489 Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 27 Jun 89 pp 56-58

[Interview with Dobri Marinov Dzhurov, Bulgarian minister of national defense, by Miroslav Lazanski—date, place not given]

[Text] The Bulgarian Government recently announced that it will reduce its armed forces by 10,000 soldiers, 200 tanks, 200 artillery systems, 20 planes, and 5 naval units, as well as that it will reduce its military budget by 12 percent. "This step of ours points to the fact that there have been some significant changes in the international situation during the last few years," Todor Zhivkov said, adding: "Our initiatives are aimed at transferring the focus of national security buildup from military to political factors." What does the Bulgarian Army with its about 160,000 people, 2,500 tanks, and 255 fighter planes think about all this?

My questions were answered by Army General Dobri Marinov Dzhurov, minister of national defense of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, a general who currently holds a world record in the length of his term of office as minister: He has been occupying the post of the minister of national defense since February 1962, longer than any current defense minister in the world.

[Lazanski] Comrade general, is the Bulgarian military budget proportionate to the size of the country and the number of its citizens, because, reckoned as a percentage, that is, relatively, Bulgaria earmarks for the Army more than Hungary and Romania do? Is about 7 percent of the gross national product of Bulgaria earmarked for defense?

[Dzhurov] The Army budget of every country in the Warsaw Pact is established not only on the basis of its population and size, but also on the basis of its military-strategic position. That budget contains various components. In some countries it includes funds for maintaining the Army, for armament and other combat technology, and for some other needs. In some other countries, however, it includes only the funds for maintaining the Army. Data on how individual countries ensure material funds for maintaining their Armies differ essentially. It is therefore difficult to compare different countries' military budgets simply by comparing the percentage of their national incomes the budget takes.

[Lazanski] What is the Bulgarian view concerning the future of military blocs?

[Dzhurov] Bulgaria is against the division of Europe into antagonistic military blocs. We advocate the simultaneous dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, and the first step there is disarmament. The future of the military blocs will depend on precisely established new political stances in the international relations. We advocate military balance through gradual disarmament and have already reduced our military potential considerably. We have reduced the numerical size of the Army, the number of tanks, artillery systems, and fighter planes, as well as the Army budget. We expect our partners, NATO, to make similar steps. At the same time, we are concerned about the trend toward modernizing conventional and strategic armament of NATO advocated by some circles in the West, all of which is a result of anachronistic concepts dating back from the times of the "cold war." We are against the approach from the position of force and against the mania of "superiority" which prevails in the minds of some people in the West.

[Lazanski] What is the stance of the People's Republic of Bulgaria as regards cooperation in the Balkans and the nuclear-free zone in the region?

[Dzhurov] The Belgrade meeting of the foreign ministers of Balkan countries resulted in a united and constructive dialogue based on the principles of mutual respect, noninterference in internal affairs, mutual cooperation, all of which is in conformity with the lasting interests of our peoples. Such a cooperation is full support for the new spirit in political thinking and the current tendency of developing international relations in Europe and in the world. It is in this context that we view the problem of establishing mutual confidence and security in the Balkans and realizing the initiative of turning the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone and a zone free from chemical weapons. We believe that this will contribute even more to arriving at a global solution to the question of destroying the means for mass killing.

[Lazanski] The West claims that the Soviet Union can use the ports of Burgas and Varna to disembark its troops and weapons in a possible war. Is that true?

[Dzhurov] Our country is against war, but if it is attacked, it will take advantage of its harbors and ports as any sovereign country would in order to perform defense tasks together with its allies.

[Lazanski] Are there any Soviet units in the People's Republic of Bulgaria?

There are constant speculations about that in the West....

[Dzhurov] There were Soviet units in Bulgaria after World War II because Bulgarian state bodies wanted that. However, they left in 1947.

[Lazanski] It was said in the past that Bulgaria is the "policeman" of the Balkans. How would you comment on that?

[Dzhurov] Socialist Bulgaria has never carried out a dictatorial or aggressive policy. We do not interfere in other countries' internal affairs. Bulgarian foreign policy is guided by the principles of good-neighborliness, sovereign equality, respect for territorial integrity, and independence.

We support our government's initiative of turning the Balkans into a nuclear-free zone and a region without chemical weapons. A country making such initiatives cannot be called a "gendarme" of the Balkans.

[Lazanski] Bulgaria and NATO's southern wing: What are your relations with Greece and Turkey like?

[Dzhurov] Our lasting aim in our relations with all Balkan countries is to strengthen peace, security, equality, good-neighborliness, and mutual cooperation. Mutual relations between Bulgaria and Greece have been developing with an upward trend. Contacts have been expanding at different levels: between state and party bodies and social organizations, whereby military security has also been expanding on both sides. The political declaration of friendship between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Republic of Greece signed in 1986 has a special significance for the development of relations between the two states. Bulgarian-Greek cooperation shows that there are no questions that cannot be solved in the spirit of good-neighborliness, even when it is between countries who belong to different military-political blocs. Mutual respect and confidence is what matters.

[Lazanski] Is there anything more specific you can say about the Greek-Bulgarian declaration of 1986?

[Dzhurov] The political declaration signed between Bulgaria and Greece on 11 September 1986 is an act whose only meaning is peace and security in the Balkans. In my personal opinion, the declaration is a new and vivid proof of the desire of Bulgarians and Greeks to live in peace, confidence, and friendship. The declaration is a new stage of cooperation between the two countries, at the same time it does not represent any danger to any Balkan country, and in a way, reflects the desires of all Balkan peoples for good-neighborliness, peace, and cooperation.

[Lazanski] What about relations with Turkey?

[Dzhurov] There has recently been a certain aggravation in the relations between our country and Turkey. However, after the Bulgarian-Turkish protocol was signed on 23 February 1988 and thanks to the Belgrade meeting of foreign ministers of Balkan countries, necessary prerequisites have been created for overcoming some negative tendencies in our relations. Now everything depends on the quantity of reasoning with which the Turkish leadership assesses and apprehends the current political reality in the Balkans. It is high time we freed ourselves from political prejudices and stereotypes from the recent past and made joint effort to find solutions to problems about which we have different views. It is our joint interest to solve these problems, while respecting national sovereignty, of course. I shall stress once again that contentious questions can and should be solved upon a joint basis. There is no alternative to that.

[Lazanski] Is the agreement on friendship and mutual aid between Bulgaria and Albania still in force?

[Dzhurov] That agreement on friendship, cooperation, and mutual aid between our country and Albania was signed 16 December 1947. It was signed in Krichim, in Bulgaria. It was signed by Georgi Dimitrov and Enver Hoxha. The agreement has not been annulled.

[Lazanski] Does Bulgaria have any problems with technical modernization of its Armed Forces considering its economic situation?

[Dzhurov] There is hardly any country in the world without economic problems in connection with the modernization of its armed forces. As a result of the booming development of science and technology, particularly military technology, many combat systems have become outdated and need to be replaced. Bulgaria cannot supply its Army exclusively with the latest and most perfect armament and technology. Together with new and modern methods for maintaining our military force at a reasonable level we are using some old systems and some systems with lower efficiency. Nevertheless, we combine all that well.

[Lazanski] What is Bulgarian military doctrine like and where do its determinants lie? To what extent is that an originally Bulgarian defense concept?

[Dzhurov] Our military doctrine reflects the peaceful and constructive policy Bulgaria has on the Balkans. It has a defensive character and its essence is as follows: Bulgaria will never and under no conditions undertake military actions, irrespective of other countries, in the Balkans or in Europe, unless it becomes the object of a military attack itself. We are developing our Armed Forces in conformity with this and our Armed Forces guarantee a life in peace to our people. The main branch of our Army is the infantry, but we are also developing air force, navy, and air defense units. Our military doctrine envisages combat readiness and comprehensive preparations of armed forces at the level which ensures counteractions against a possible aggression and, if ordered, cooperation with fraternal armies of the Warsaw Pact too, using respective operations in order to carry out a destructive resistance against an enemy. The main characteristic of the military-technical side of our military doctrine is relying on the world experience in military buildup and adapting it to our specific conditions. Defense in Bulgaria, just as in the Warsaw Pact member countries, is based upon the principle of "reasonable sufficiency." This means that they strive for the reduction of the numerical size of the armed forces of all countries and coalitions and for the reduction of the possibility of a military confrontation on both sides in order to be able to remove suspicions and inclinations toward a one-sided advantage to the greatest possible extent.

[Lazanski] Will Bulgaria turn toward a greater independence and production of weapons at home?

[Dzhunov] The People's Republic of Bulgaria, like any other more or less developed country, depending on its capabilities, produces some types of weapons at home. We also produce weapons under Soviet licenses and in cooperation with the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact member countries. I think that a cooperation in the field of defense industry between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia is also possible.

[Lazanski] Do you have any problems with pacifism among young people? Is there any nationalism among young recruits?

[Dzhurov] A number of young people do manifest some isolated forms of pacifism. However, that is not the characteristic behavior of the young generation in general and does not pose any problems to us. Thanks to good family upbringing and training in school and in youth organizations and particularly in the Army, we strengthen the patriotic feelings among young people. A large number of them correctly understand the need for the country's defense preparations, the need to defend socialism, and Army service is treated as something one owes to his homeland and as a question of honor. There is no nationalism in the Army. We think that this is a question of patriotic feelings and internationalism. A true patriot does not only love his country, but also respects all its parts to the same extent, the honor, culture, and tradition of other peoples. Let me underline this: As long as we live in this world which is full of inevitable contradictions and surprises, as long as there is imperialism with its militarist doctrine, we have to have our Armed Forces. Our Army has been guarding the people's socialist achievements and protecting the borders of the socialist community and will continue to do so in the future. The Bulgarian Army must fulfill certain international obligations envisaged by the Warsaw Pact.

[Lazanski] Will your Army turn completely to the brigade system after the model of the Hungarian Army? You have armored brigades, but you also have mechanized divisions. Will you reorganize all those into brigades?

[Dzhurov] The composition and the organizational structure of every Army is established depending on its tasks and the conditions under which it is performing them.

Our Army has motorized infantry divisions and tank brigades. We may reorganize divisions into brigades in the future. The stress in military training is now placed on defense, both from the strategic and tactical aspect. Units will mostly be supplied with weapons for defense operations.

[Lazanski] What is Bulgarian Army's stance about reforms in the country? Can one speak about Bulgarian perestroyka and what is the Army's attitude toward it?

[Dzhurov] We have a concept of our changes, the concept established at the plenum of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] in June 1987 and elaborated at the national party conference in 1988 and the plenum of the BCP Central Committee held in December 1988. The personnel of the Bulgarian People's Army fully supports the changes in the country and actively works on realizing them under Army conditions. In conformity with that we have been constantly improving the professional training of the military personnel and increasing the strictness of our demands, so that our strict criteria achieve new aspects.

I believe that the reputation of the military profession will increase as a sign of the public recognition of the responsible tasks of the modern Bulgarian Army.

[Lazanski] What are the relations between the Armed Forces of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Yugoslav People's Army like?

[Dzhurov] The relations between our two Armies are good and are constantly being furthered. We have been exchanging military delegations and sending observers to some of the military exercises. Every year general staffs of both countries undertake and coordinate measures of cooperation and consultations on problems which are in the interest of both countries. We have cooperation in the sphere of culture, too. We are interested in an even greater development of relations with the Yugoslav People's Army and we hope that a possible future meeting between the leaders of the Bulgarian Ministry of National Defense and the Federal Secretariat for National Defense of Yugoslavia will result in some new initiatives in the military cooperation which is in the interest of our two countries and Armies.

Kubadinski Arrives in Pyongyang for Festival

AU0307145389 Sofia BTA in English 1414 GMT 3 Jul 89

[Text] Pyongyang, July 3 (BTA special correspondent)—Today Mr Kim Il-song, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and president of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, received Mr Pencho Kubadinski, Politburo member of the Central Committee of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and chairman of the National Council of the Fatherland Front, who is a guest of honour at the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students in Pyongyang.

At the meeting, which was held in a very cordial and friendly atmosphere, Mr Pencho Kubadinski handed Mr Kim Il-song a message from Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the Central Committee of the BCP and president of the State Council of Bulgaria, containing most cordial greetings in connection with the organization of the most representative youth forum which is an expression of the solidarity of the planet's youth with the DPRK's efforts to ease tensions on the Korean Peninsula and which comes as token of respect for that country's contribution to the strengthening of peace and security. An emphasis is also laid on the two countries' shared desire to proceed together along the road of peace, friendship and progress.

Mr Kim Il-song expressed cordial gratitude for the Bulgarian participation in the 13th World Festival in Pyongyang and best wishes to the Bulgarian people.

Zhivkov's Message to Youth

AU0407164589 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Jul 89 p 1

["Greetings Message by Comrade Todor Zhivkov," general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and State Council chairman, to the participants of the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students in the DPRK]

[Text] Dear young friends,

I am pleased to most cordially greet you, the participants in the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students, representatives of the progressive and democratic youth of the five continents, united under the slogan "For Anti-Imperialist Solidarity, Peace, and Friendship."

We live at a crucial stage of human development. Our world faces the most serious alternative in its history: peace and cooperation among nations, or the annihilation of the planet. The mutual dependence of the modern world is being understood more and more by politicians and political figures. The modern political thinking asserts itself ever more as the only answer to the global problems of mankind's survival. A clear and universal striving to decisively advance from confrontation to cooperation among states and peoples is emerging.

I would like to say with gratitude that you, the world's young generation, were in the frontline of this process with the festivals of the world youth and students, your wonderful and unforgettable holidays of unity and cohesion. This is completely natural: The ideals of peace, democracy, national independence, social progress, and the well-being of all nations capture first of all the young minds and hearts. Youths do not reconcile themselves to prejudices and stereotypes. Without any compromises they seek the roads toward human happiness and are the first to rally around the idea that tomorrow will conquer the millions.

Your 13th festival is the first that is taking place in Asia, the continent that was reborn for a new life. The festival flame that burns in Asia will illuminate the souls of your new brothers and sisters, will attract millions of new supporters of the festival movement, and will increase the authority of your forums.

Let the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students bring to all of you new and unforgettable days and nights, acquaintances, and friendships. Let it strengthen your willingness to place the unity and cohesion around the universal values and ideals above everything else, above the racial, religious, and ideological differences.

Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Bulgarian Ambassador Views Crisis With Turkey

NC0507181986 Cairo MENA in Arabic
1623 GMT 5 Jul 89

[Text] Cairo, 5 Jul (MENA)—Petur Vulkanov, Bulgarian ambassador to Egypt, has commended the ongoing exchanges between Egypt and Bulgaria that are aimed at improving bilateral ties in all fields. He described the return of Egypt to the Arab League as a boost to the strength of the Arab people.

The Bulgarian ambassador denied reports about his country's policies toward Bulgarian Muslims. The Muslims in Bulgaria, he said, are an integral part of the Bulgarian population and share with them the sense of belonging to the country.

Answering a question on whether Muslims were being provided with passports and nationality [as received] to urge them to leave the country, the ambassador said that it is the right of every citizen to leave Bulgaria or return to it at any time, in accordance with the law pass 2 months ago by the Bulgarian parliament. The law, he added, also grants Bulgarians the right to hold dual citizenship.

Vulmanov said that 70,000 Muslims have left the country after obtaining new passports that are valid for 5 years and renewable. These people, he added, can return to Bulgaria at any time. The ambassador added that the mass departure of this number of citizens has caused economic difficulties for Bulgaria.

The Bulgarian ambassador said that his country believes in peace, neighborliness, and understanding in the Balkan peninsula. It will seek to rehabilitate Bulgarian-Turkish relations, he stated, and would be pleased to conduct a dialogue with Turkey on the basis of equality and mutual interests, and with no preconditions.

Vulkanov said that the Bulgarian borders are open not only to Turkey but also to all Europe. He added: We have no so-called refugee problem.

Regarding the injection of children with a strange substance, the Bulgarian ambassador pointed out that his country has requested the World Health Organization to send a representative to discuss this issue. He asked: How is it possible to inject people with strange substances if they are bound to return to Bulgaria?

Greek Sociologist Discusses Turkey, Bulgarians

AU0507151589 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian
4 Jul 89 p 2

[Interview with Nikos Fakiolas, chairman of the Greek Sociologists Union, by Stefka Mateeva: "In Accordance with Humanitarian Laws"—date, place not given]

[Excerpts] Nikos Fakiolas evoked the interest of the participants in the Varna International Sociological School because of his youth. His age is really unusual for the president of a national sociological union.

[Mateeva] We would have expected a leader of your rank to look somewhat different.

[Fakiolas] There is nothing surprising about this, because the Bulgarian Sociological Association and the Union of Greek Sociologists greatly differ from each other. This applies to their level of organization, to the degree of development, and to the role they play in society. You are fairly advanced, while we are still fighting for a place in the sun in Greece. [passage omitted]

[Mateeva] Could you tell us, how Greek public opinion is reacting to the relations between Bulgaria and Turkey in connection with the issue of Bulgarian Muslims?

[Fakiolas] Cordial feelings and mutual understanding exist between Bulgarians and Greeks. Regardless of the fact, that no accurate information on current Bulgarian events exists in our country (You should not forget that satellite television is not always in the proper hands), people in Greece have confidence in the Bulgarian Government's way of handling this situation. They consider it correct. The fact that numerous Greeks often travel to Bulgaria and have the opportunity to see with their own eyes, whether the Bulgarian Muslims are starving and are really persecuted, or whether this is an invention of the Turkish propaganda, contributes to this view.

[Mateeva] What is your personal opinion on the question?

[Fakiolas] I think that this is not a problem of the Bulgarian Muslims, but a problem intentionally concocted by the Turkish Government which is trying to create similar problems in other countries as well. These actions are prompted by two goals. On the one hand, by the intention to promote pan-Turkish policy (a political behavior which is characteristic for every dictatorial regime). On the other hand, the present Turkish Government, in stirring up the problems with the Bulgarian Muslims, is trying to conceal its other real problems, namely its own domestic worries. As a sociologist, I cannot believe that a government which is oppressing millions of people in its own country should be seriously and sincerely concerned about the problems of a much less numerous group of people living in another country. This is simply a form of political demagogy. I really think that Bulgarian Muslims are victims, but not victims of the Bulgarian Government. They are victims of the dictatorial regime in Turkey. I sincerely hope that these people will soon discover the truth and, in the final analysis, will turn against those who are victimizing them. It is logical that this problem should revert to those who stirred it up. This has always been the case in the history of mankind. I will repeat: It is quite evident, and even obvious, that not Turkey as a state, or the Turkish people, but only the dictatorial regime as such is the real cause of the problem. This applies even less to the Bulgarian people and state. You can trust me—I have lived through a junta regime and it is not only in theory that I am familiar with this problem.

Gorbachev TV Speech on Nationalities Viewed

AU0507133189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Jul 89 p 6

[Unattributed commentary: "Responsibility for the Fate of Restructuring"]

[Text] The statement made on Soviet Television by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, dealing with nationality relations in the Soviet Union, was an appeal to the hearts and minds of all Soviet men, an appeal to their responsibility for the present and future.

As early as at the February 1988 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, in dealing with the Leninist approach to the national issue, Mikhail Gorbachev declared: "We are deeply aware of how much we have lost in the past for not having totally absorbed, in theory, and even less in practice, all the fruitful Leninist ideas, intentions, and practical recommendations, related to the issue of Soviet socialist democracy.

In preparing and implementing the plans of revolutionary restructuring of Soviet society, the CPSU Central Committee is guided by the interests of all nationalities inhabiting a common home—the Soviet Union. Numerous problems related to multinational, domestic relations have accumulated over the years. Mikhail Gorbachev, in his speech, warned about the "increased danger and the consequences ensuing for society" in this respect. This is so, because precisely the opportunities opened up by restructuring, democratization, and glasnost are being taken advantage of by some people in order to increase tension and, especially, to kindle feelings of mutual hatred among the representatives of different nations and nationalities. This is a dangerous form of "playing with fire," a factor which obstructs and delays the restructuring process and jeopardizes this process as a whole.

One of the greatest achievements of socialism in the USSR is not only to have guaranteed equal rights for all nations and nationalities, but to have created various conditions for introducing an equal, general level of socioeconomic and cultural development in all republics and regions of the Soviet Union. An exceptional amount of work has been accomplished in this respect. Nevertheless, complicated, new tasks are emerging in the course of life. Mikhail Gorbachev pointed out, in his statement, that the solution of these problems and the accomplishment of these tasks today require a profound analysis, increased attention, and urgent action. Local and national interests are intertwined with priority all-union issues in this respect.

The Soviet leader appealed to the great sense of civic responsibility which is deeply instilled in every Soviet man. It is only in a friendly family of peoples enjoying equal rights, rallied on a truly democratic basis, within the framework of a united socialist state, that the ideas of restructuring can be implemented and real progress may be guaranteed.

FRG's Environment Minister Toepfer Visits

Received by Atanasov

AU0407191489 Sofia BTA in English 1804 GMT 4 Jul 89

["Bulgaria, FRG: Cooperation in Environment Preservation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, July 4 (BTA)—Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Mr Klaus Topfer, minister of environment, nature conservation, and reactor safety of the FRG.

The leader of the government was informed of the results of the talks and of the agreements between the Committee for Environment Preservation and the visiting delegation for the fulfilment of the agreement signed between the governments of the two countries in April this year for cooperation in environment preservation.

It was stressed that in the bilateral economic and techno-scientific cooperation, which is undergoing constant development and enrichment, the problems of ecology must take an important place, as there exist good preconditions and they must be utilized. The contacts between companies of Bulgaria and the FRG can include environment preservation, and the two sides can jointly develop projects and technologies for protection of waters, air and soils from further pollution by exchanging technical devices for control.

The minister expressed the desire of the FRG to cooperate for the activation of the contacts with Bulgaria in the sphere of ecology and assessed highly the results of this country in the European cooperation on this important problem.

Minister Klaus Topfer had a meeting with Mr Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations. They discussed the opportunities for combining the contacts in the sphere of ecology with the economic and industrial cooperation between the two countries. The question of the relations between the CMEA member states and the EEC member states was also discussed.

During our visit we became convinced in the significance which Bulgaria renders to environment preservation. It turned out that we have common interests, said at today's press conference Minister Klaus Topfer.

We spoke also of the River Danube which passes through our two countries and we want it to be pure. That is why, stressed the minister, the FRG and Bulgaria can become initiators and render assistance for the establishing of organizational preconditions for cooperation between the Danubean countries for purification of the river, which can help the decreasing of the pollution of the Black Sea, and that must happen through the establishing of official relations by forming a constantly acting bureau and by establishing regular sessions of the ministers of ecology of these countries.

It became clear during my talk with Minister Andrey Lukanov, said Mr Topfer, that there are preconditions for broadening of our cooperation in the maintenance of the purity of the air and in the processing of wastes. There are possibilities for the development of joint projects and we will cooperate for their implementation. The same refers also to the control and monitoring equipment and apparatuses—we are ready to render assistance for the construction of a unified system for control in your country, said the guest.

Paper Reports Minister's Visit

AU0407171289 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Jul 89 p 2

[Stanislav Kolev report: "Ecological Cooperation"]

[Text] Sofia, 2 July—The long-standing relations between Bulgaria and the FRG encompass a particularly wide range of spheres.

The official visit of Klaus Toepfer, FRG minister of environment, nature conservation, and reactor safety, which he is paying at the Bulgarian Government's invitation and which is beginning today, reflects this process of intensified bilateral relations.

The talks between Nikolay Dyulgerov, chairman of the Committee of Environmental Protection under the Council of Ministers, and his West German colleague began at the Boyana Residence tonight.

Special attention was devoted during the talks to the preparations for an all-European meeting on ecological questions to which Bulgaria will play host from 16 October to 3 November 1989 in accordance with a decision adopted at the Vienna meeting of the countries participating in the all-European process.

A review of bilateral ecological cooperation occupied the major part of the talks between Nikolay Dyulgerov and Klaus Toepfer. The number of Bulgarian and FRG companies which have established contacts in exchanging specific scientific-technical analysis papers, vanguard technologies, and joint projects for the construction of ecological protection installations is increasing. It was established that numerous further opportunities for cooperation in this sphere still exist.

Minister Toepfer Interviewed

AU0507134389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 4 Jul 89 p 2

[Interview with Klaus Toepfer, FRG minister of environment, nature conservation, and reactor safety, by Stanislav Kolev: "Peace Among People, Peaceful Relations With Nature"; date, place not given]

[Text] Klaus Toepfer, FRG minister of environment, nature conservation, and reactor safety, is paying an official visit to our country at the Bulgarian Government's invitation. He readily responded to the request of a RABOTNICHESKO DELO representative for an interview:

[Kolev] Mr Toepfer, can you describe your views on the role of ecology in the East-West dialogue?

[Toepfer] It is an absolute necessity to treat the question of environmental protection with the same priority importance we attach to the problems of disarmament and security. This is so, because the questions related to ecological policy are no less important for the alleviation of tension, for confidence building, and for the guaranteeing security. This request stems from the world in which we live. If we should fail to achieve progress in solving the ecological problems, the ensuing consequences may be no less severe and dramatic than the results of our failure to achieve progress in the spheres of disarmament and mutual understanding. We need a reliable peace among peoples in order to make our peace with nature.

[Kolev] This is your second visit to our country within a year. What are the reasons for such frequent contacts with your Bulgarian colleagues?

[Toepfer] These reasons are related to the Bulgarian Government's increasing interest on questions of environmental protection policy. My first visit to this country was connected with the conference held at the initiative of the UN Economic Commission for Europe. My present visit, however, is related to another, important forthcoming event within the framework of the all-European process of security and cooperation. I am talking about the Sofia Ecoforum scheduled to take place in the autumn of 1989. Another reason for our interest in this cooperation also exists. The FRG, as a highly industrialized state, produces numerous harmful substances, the emanation of which is not restricted to our national territory. On the other hand we are also affected by emanations of various substances stemming from the industries of other states. This is the reason for our interest in cooperation and partnership with various states situated on our continent, including those of Eastern Europe.

[Kolev] The trends of forthcoming changes in connection with the further intensified integration of the EC member countries are being widely discussed today. Will this integration have any results in the ecological sphere?

[Toepfer] The establishment of a joint West European market will certainly involve serious consequences in the sphere of ecological policy. This applies to the European Community, as well as to the development of our relations with all other European countries. In this respect we are particularly proud that official contacts with the CEMA member-countries were established, precisely at the time when it was the turn of the FRG to chair the EEC.

[Kolev] During your talks with Nikolay Dyulgerov, chairman of the Committee of Environmental Protection under the Council of Ministers, you pointed out your high appreciation for Bulgaria's contribution to the development of the all-European process in the sphere of environmental protection. Could you further explain this remark?

[Toepfer] I could cite some facts. Within a short period Bulgaria assumed the task of playing host to two important, international forums related to environmental protection. I mean the past session of the administrative board of the United Nations Ecological Program [UNEP], which was chaired by Bulgaria, and the intergovernmental agreement on ecological cooperation signed between the FRG and Bulgaria. Last, but not least, I would like to mention your country's readiness to host the European ecological meeting which is scheduled to take place at the decision of the Vienna meeting of CSCE member countries.

Tanchev Meets Swedish Foreign Minister Andersson

*AU2906190689 Sofia BTA in English
1632 GMT 29 Jun 89*

[Text] Stockholm, June 29 (BTA)—Mr Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) and first vice president of Bulgaria's State Council, had a meeting here with Mr Sten Andersson, minister of foreign affairs of Sweden.

The good condition of the bilateral relations which undergo successful development in all spheres was assessed positively. Unanimous was the opinion that there are favourable preconditions for further deepening and broadening of the Bulgaro-Swedish contacts in interest of the two countries and the understanding in Europe and in the world.

The Bulgarian Agrarian Party and the Centre Party of Sweden have been maintaining traditional friendly contacts for 30 years.

Mr Petur Tanchev pointed out the importance of the statement of State Council President Mr Todor Zhivkov of May 29, this year, which is an important expression of the consistent peace-loving policy of Bulgaria for peace and good-neighbourliness in the Balkans, for further development of the CSCE process.

The Swedish minister expressed interest in Bulgaria's positions and her peace-loving policy. He said that the restructuring in Bulgaria opens additional preconditions for better economic cooperation between Bulgaria and Sweden. The minister pointed out the necessity of further strengthening of the dialogue and the business contacts between the East and the West.

During the talk the two sides stressed the importance of the efforts for nuclear and conventional disarmament. It was pointed out that the establishing of nuclear weapons free zones in the Balkans and in northern Europe would be an important step toward the freeing of entire Europe and the world from nuclear weapons.

Tanchev Meets Other Leaders

*AU2806075089 Sofia BTA in English
2224 GMT 27 Jun 89*

[Text] Stockholm, June 27 (BTA)—A delegation of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party led by Mr Petur Tanchev, secretary of the party and first vice-president of the State

Council of Bulgaria, today had a meeting with the leadership of the Centre Party of Sweden headed by Mr Olof Johansson, chairman of the Centre Party.

The Swedish political leaders highly appreciated Bulgaria's peaceful policy. During the talks it was pointed out that Bulgaria plays a constructive role in the Balkans and Sweden—in northern Europe. Great attention was paid to the idea of establishing nuclear-free zones in the Balkans and in northern Europe.

Satisfaction was expressed with the successful development of the traditional friendly relations between the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and the Swedish Centre Party which now have a three-decade-old record. Both sides said that they wish their cooperation to be a contribution to the extension of Bulgaro-Swedish relations in the political, economic and cultural sphere.

It was pointed out that the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and the Centre Party of Sweden will carry on their interaction with the purpose of uniting the democratic parties and organization and strengthening the positive trends in international life.

The representatives of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party said they endorse the idea of the Swedish Centre Party for calling a multilateral meeting of agrarian and other democratic parties and organizations in Stockholm. The two parties also support the proposal for an international meeting of agrarian and other democratic parties and organizations in Bulgaria to mark the 90th anniversary of the establishment of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and the proposal for a forum of such parties and organizations of the CSCE participating countries in Helsinki.

The Bulgarian Agrarian Party and the Centre Party hail the East-West dialogue. The two parties support the efforts for the conservation of environment and appreciate the contribution of the agrarian and democratic movement to the struggle for an ecologically clean planet.

Today the delegation of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party headed by Mr Petur Tanchev had talks with Mr Tage Petersson, chairman of the Riksdag, the parliament of Sweden. The two sides discussed the development of the relations between the two countries, a contribution to which is made by the contacts between their parliaments and the parliamentarians of Bulgaria and Sweden.

Diplomatic Consultations With Austria Held

*AU3006184489 Sofia BTA in English
1754 GMT 30 Jun 89*

[Text] Vienna, June 30 (BTA)—The ministries of foreign affairs of Bulgaria and Austria completed their two-day regular political consultations here today. The Bulgarian delegation to the consultations was headed by Mr Lyuben Gotsev, deputy minister of foreign affairs. The sides analysed in detail the state of bilateral relations and assessed them as good but still leaving room for further promotion and diversification.

Considering the international situation, the sides focused on the problems of peace and disarmament, on the resumed Soviet-American start talks and on the Vienna Conventional Forces in Europe talks.

Mr Lyuben Gotsev was received by Dr Alois Mock, federal minister of foreign affairs.

Production-Sharing Agreement With SFRY Firm

*AU0507162689 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 4 Jul 89 p 2*

[Text] Cherven Bryag, 3 July (BTA)—In fulfillment of the agreements on Bulgarian-Yugoslav economic cooperation, representatives of the "14 October" Machine and Installations Industry Enterprise in the Yugoslav town of Krusevac and the "Beta" State Company in Cherven Bryag signed a production-sharing agreement today for road-building machinery.

The two enterprises will jointly manufacture bulldozers, excavators, front loaders, dump trucks, road rollers, and spare parts for the former. The aim of the association is not only to meet the two countries' requirements for these machines, but also to enter the export market.

Oil Field Accident Reported in Mikhaylovgrad

*AU0607065989 Sofia BTA in English
2138 GMT 5 Jul 89*

[Text] Sofia, July 5 (BTA)—At 3.00 a.m. local time, on July 5, in the vicinity of the village of Butan, the Mikhaylovgrad Region (northern Bulgaria), at the time of drilling works carried out by a prospecting enterprise gas under pressure of about 550 atmospheres has leaked. The drilling has been 3300 meters deep. At 10.50 a.m. bursted a local explosion and a fire broke out [sentence as received]. The flames reached 30-40 meters height.

14 fire brigades arrived to the drilling site. Under the protection of a "water curtain" part of the equipment was evacuated, a movable pumping station was set and a pipeline for drawing water from the river of Ogosta was installed. About 11.50 a.m. the drilling tower collapsed.

The latest data show that the leakage of gas has stopped but hot oil continues to leak out.

Measures for localizing the trouble have been undertaken. There is no danger for the population and the environment. Three workers have been injured and have received serious burns. There is danger for their life. They have been hospitalized in the city of Oryakhovo. The work on the limitation of the accident continues.

The permanent government commission for organization and management of rescue and other urgent measures in time of elemental calamities and large production accidents is working on the case.

Officials Discuss Consequences of Emigration

AU2706142389 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No 26 Jun 89 pp 8-9

[Interviews with Dimitur Peev, deputy chief of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Consular Department, and with Evtim Stoyanov, first deputy minister of justice, by Petur Pudev: "Destruction of Passports Abroad"—place, date of interviews not given]

[Text] Our readers are asking numerous questions in connection with reports on recent cases of Bulgarian citizens whose Bulgarian passports were destroyed upon their arrival in Turkey. POGLED asked Dimitur Peev, deputy chief of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Consular Department for some explanations on this subject.

[Pudev] How should the confiscation and destruction of passports belonging to foreign citizens by official authorities of an other state be evaluated?

[Peev] On the basis of bilateral agreements, or according to universally accepted international practice, the states should recognize their mutual obligation to respect a citizen's political and legal ties with his home country, even when he is outside its territory. This is the proper way for a country to show its respect for the sovereignty of another state in its relation with its own citizens, expressed in the rights and obligations of a state to protect its own citizens wherever they are.

Citizenship is certified in each individual case by the issue of a respective identity document. The passport is a document which not only identifies a person in the process of migration, but also proves the permanent link between the individual and his country of origin, namely his citizenship. For this reason, precisely, the passport is the basic document of a legal mechanism regulating the process of travel to foreign countries.

The regulations related to the status of foreigners in a country stem basically from the sovereignty of a state—namely from its power to accept the presence of foreigners according to its will, but also in accordance with a number of conditions established by the norms of the country's domestic legislation, as well as by the norms of international law.

In this respect, the actions of a state's competent organs related to the confiscation, or destruction of a valid passport, or some other travel document belonging to foreign citizens are in total contradiction with the basic principles of international law, namely with the principle of equal sovereignty and observance of all rights stemming from the principle of sovereignty. The Declaration of the Helsinki Final Act, in defining this principle, states that the signatory countries "shall observe the sovereign rights of the countries, as well as all their rights related to sovereignty."

The forcible confiscation and destruction of foreign passports by the official organs of a given state represents a gross violation of the above described principle and, to put it mildly, shows a lack of respect for the sovereign rights of the other state, related to its citizens provided with such documents of identification.

[Pudev] Does a similar action signify that an individual whose passport has been destroyed should be deprived of his original citizenship?

[Peev] The confiscation, destruction, or loss of a citizen's foreign travel passport by no means signifies the severance of his political and legal ties with his country of origin. In other words, such acts are no reason for depriving someone of his citizenship. Matters related to the loss of citizenship are decided only by the domestic legislation of the citizen's home country.

Even if he is not in possession of a passport from his home country, the individual in question, continues to be a citizen of that country unless he looses his passport as a result of having been deprived, or released from his citizenship. In the People's Republic of Bulgaria, however, the State Council is the only organ authorized to deprive, or release an individual from his citizenship, and the same applies to matters connected with the acquisition and restoration of Bulgarian citizenship.

[Pudev] How should an individual, whose passport has been destroyed, proceed if he wishes to restore this document and return to the country that has issued his passport?

[Peev] The general rule according to international law is to authorize the consular officials of the country of origin to issue a new passport, or a travel document of the same validity to the citizen in question whose foreign travel passport has been confiscated, lost, or destroyed. Bulgarian consuls in all countries with which the People's Republic of Bulgaria has established consular relations are entitled to exercise this function.

Evtim Stoimenov, first deputy minister of justice, stated as follows in answering a question of the weekly POGLED in connection with the property of people who have left the country and whose passports, or exit visas have expired abroad:

[Stoimenov] Some of those individuals who are about to leave the country have appeared in court, or in notary offices where they certified powers of attorney on the basis of which their relatives are in charge of taking care of their property during their absence. Certain transactions of transfer of property, sales, or donations for the benefit of close relatives, brothers, or sisters, were also effected in this connection.

Nevertheless, I would like to inform you that Bulgarian citizens, after a prolonged stay abroad, acquire the status of foreigners. A regulation approved by the Council of Ministers in 1969 exists in our country according to which foreigners remain the owners of their property. The property is managed by authorized agents. The receipts from the property are paid into the account of the owners who, with a special permit of the Ministry of Economy and Planning, are entitled to spend part of these receipts whenever they visit Bulgaria.

Prosecutor Denies Rumors on Unoccupied Property

AU0507200789 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Jul 89 p 2

[Interview with Atanas Atanasov, deputy chief prosecutor, by Tsvetana Tosheva: "Inviolability of Property"—date, place not given]

[Text] On the occasion of rumors and facts about the alleged encroachments on the property of citizens who are departing for abroad, we interviewed Atanas Atanasov, deputy chief public prosecutor of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on the inviolability of private property.

[Tosheva] Comrade Atanasov, we have obtained some unconfirmed reports about cases of encroachment, damage, and theft of the property of persons who are leaving for abroad by Bulgarian citizens. Are these rumors true?

[Atanasov] So far, we have received a few tips at the Prosecutor's Office about thefts in the homes of such citizens in Razgrad Oblast. Files were opened on these cases. If such encroachments are committed in other places, we will certainly adopt urgent measures for the punishment and prevention of such actions.

[Tosheva] You are talking about prevention. What kind of measures are being adopted in this respect?

[Atanasov] The Chief Prosecutor's Office has instructed the okrug and district prosecutor's offices to hold most strictly responsible all these persons who encroach upon property that has been left unoccupied. There is even more: We entrusted the local prosecutor's offices to take immediate action in all cases of theft, damage, or robbery of property belonging to Bulgarian citizens who have left the country, so that such cases may be resolved as soon as possible. Wherever the law requires it, the prosecution organs are instructed not to deviate from the principle of "detention under guard." We shall guarantee the absolute inviolability of the property in question and there should be no reason whatsoever for concern in this respect.

[Tosheva] Can you describe any other methods, apart from penal action, to ensure such guarantees?

[Atanasov] It is an obligation of the municipal people's councils and of the Ministry of Internal Affairs organs to guarantee the protection of the real estate and of other kinds of property belonging to individuals who have gone abroad without leaving any authorized representatives. For this purpose, officials, or other persons, as well as a special commission should be appointed to draw up an inventory list of all items and the property should be sealed. All public prosecutors should see that the laws protecting real estate and other property belonging to the citizens in question are upheld. We have given instructions to the prosecutors that they should explain the laws and all legal documents existing in this area, as well as the consequences in case the laws and regulations should not be observed.

Legislative Commission Examines Land Misuse

AU0507182489 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] The Legislative Commission of the National Assembly held a meeting today jointly with the leaderships of the Commission for Environmental Protection and Regeneration and the People's Soviets and Local Self-Management Commission.

The meeting discussed the results of the application of the Law on Protection of Cultivated Land and Pastures. Reports by Georgi Menov, minister of agriculture and forestry, and a working group of National Assembly deputies led by Boris Spasov formed the basis for the debates. It was established that poor land management and use was the reason for serious damage to the stock of agricultural land. Almost 80 percent of the land is threatened by erosion, and over 8 million decares have high soil acidity. During the 1980-87 period the area of cultivated land decreased by 147,500 decares, and only 76,000 decares have been recultivated.

Among the reasons that led to this state of affairs, it was pointed out that the most important one is that the legislation in force that regulates land relations is not being systematically observed. In essence, this is because of the reluctance of the competent state organs and the economic and social organizations to consistently apply the normative regulations for land protection.

The commission adopted a decision which specifies the most important measures to overcome the negative tendencies and to implement a consistent and effective policy for protecting cultivated land.

Decision on Illegal Use of Resources Discussed

AU2806143989 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 27 Jun 89 p 2

[Aleksandur Krustev article: "For Nationwide Use"]

[Excerpts] The full title of Decision No 40 adopted by the Council of Ministers reads: "On the Confiscation of Illegally and Unexpediently Built Villas, Retreats, and Official Residences, and on the Utilization of the Buildings for the Needs of Health Protection, Education, Recreation, and Tourism." The publication of the decision was somewhat delayed, but numerous problems related to the current changes in our economic life, which required further clarification, emerged in the meantime. The more so, since the decision in question is of great public and social importance and settles the problems of generously spending, and in some cases, even squandering the people's resources.

Over many years—and this is an open secret—state-owned and official villas, retreats, and official residences were built and decorated under different names—and as we may assume—the financial resources used for such construction activities were not always allocated for this purpose, but "economized" from here and there, or simply diverted from other places. Nevertheless, the resources in question are budget means, or public resources, which no one is entitled to spend as he pleases. No state leader, public figure, or economic manager has ever been authorized to do so.

Violations were also committed in other respects.

Some of these buildings were erected in specially protected zones for drinking water, in reservations, parks, and numerous other legally protected territories, including areas of exceptional scenic beauty.

Numerous buildings of this kind are not fully utilized. In most cases they serve as residences for leading functionaries from the ministries, people's councils, and other state institutions, public organizations, and economic enterprises, without any official authorization.

It was precisely to eliminate such legal offenses, and to use the buildings in question more efficiently, as well as to settle the urgent health and social needs of the population that the Council of Ministers adopted the aforementioned decision. [passage omitted]

It is quite justified that the decision includes an instruction according to which, the former owners of the buildings in question should be accordingly compensated, when these buildings are used for domestic recreation purposes, or economic tourism, namely when they become a source of income, since the financial resources belong to the labor collectives. The same applies to cases in which such buildings are the property of social and cooperative organizations which, at their own initiative, have allocated these buildings to health services, educational institutions, and tourist organizations. [passage omitted]

The question arises, how should all this be implemented, what guarantees have been provided for possible offenses against the spirit of this decision? It is envisaged, for example, that the Ministry of Economy and Planning and the Trade Unions Central Council should set up norms for the expedient use of all these buildings, and if they do not comply, they should be subjected to sanctions. The executive committees of the municipal people's councils are authorized, in this context, to establish integrated offices (associations) of information and reservations for the full utilization of tourist and recreation buildings.

This is how we can describe the new government regulations concerning a delicate area which has many people in our country justifiably concerned.

Television Transmitter Network Updated, Expanded

AU3006092389 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 28 Jun 89 p 2

[Angel Andreevski article: "Television Signal for the Entire Country"]

[Excerpts] A network of main transmitters and auxiliary relay stations has been under construction for many years, with the aim of ensuring that Bulgarian and central Soviet television transmissions reach all corners of the country. So far 19 transmitters and about 900 relay stations have been built, 490 of these being used for the first program and more than 400 for the second program. In addition, 32 of the older relay stations have been updated, and 28 new ones have been put into service during the first 6 months of this year.

Research has shown that 145 settlements are either unable to receive the first or the second program, or receive poor signals. The "Communications" Association assures us that the construction of the relay stations will be completed by the end of the next 5-Year Plan period.

Meanwhile, work has started on constructing a third network, which is now being used for the central Soviet Television program. However, it will be used for the third television program when the Television and Radio Committee has this program ready.

I had a meeting with Dimo Dichev, general dirctor of the "Radio and Television" Economic Combine, which is responsible for the construction and operation of the transmitting equipment. I asked him what had been achieved so far in constructing the third network, and what would be completed by the end of this and the following 5-year plan periods.

We already have 15 television relay stations in operation, he said, and by the end of this year or next year their number will rise to about 40. [passage omitted]

Some of the old relay stations were built in unsuitable locations, at high elevations above sea level and in inaccessible areas. However, their high power output creates interference in the surrounding regions, thus considerably limiting the already small number of channels suitable for relays.

Serious problems are also being created by television signals from neighboring states, whose television networks are also developing at a fast rate. This is leading to changes in the television channels and outputs of the existing relay stations. [passage omitted]

Retail Trade Offenders in Sofia Punished

AU2706122289 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 23 Jun 89 pp 1, 3

[Unattributed report: "Strict Control and Effective Measures]

[Excerpts] From 22 May through 8 June 1989 the Sofia City Committee for State and People's Control, jointly with the Social Activities Commission of Sofia City People's Council and other control organs, organized a comprehensive inspection of the state and economic organs and organizations, enterprises, and facilities for production and supply of consumer goods and trade in consumer goods in the capital, in fulfillment of Council of Ministers Decree No 13 of 1989 on preventing negative phenomena in goods production and trading, public catering, and the performance of services.

In the 1,503 trading establishments inspected, 1,081 violations of the regulations for trading services were established. Among these were 218 establishments operating under Council of Ministers Decrees Nos 35 and 17. A total of 404 reports were drawn up, fines totaling 27,560 leva were imposed, and 33 offenders were recommended for dismissal under Council of Ministers Decree No 127.

Many violations were discovered in the system of the "Public Catering" organization. [passage omitted] Of the 112 establishments inspected in the system of the City Cooperative Union, 68 breaches were established, including 14 in establishments operating under Council of Ministers Decrees Nos 35 and 17. [passage omitted]

Inspections were made of 194 stores dealing in nonfood commodities, as a result of which 60 violations were established and 23 reports compiled, including 4 under Council of Ministers Decree No 127.

The control organs of the Sofia City municipal people's councils and the internal departmental control organs of the trading organizations also carried out inspections. The municipal people's council organs inspected 1,858 establishments and established 327 violations, including 85 in establishments operating under Council of Ministers Decrees Nos 35 and 17. The organs drew up 220 reports, including 7 under Council of Ministers Decree No 127, and imposed fines valued at 11,740 leva. Inspections were carried out of 2,191 establishments belonging to economic organizations and violations were established in 212 cases, including 29 installations operating under Council of Ministers Decrees Nos 35 and 17. As a result, 37 reports were drawn up, including 8 under Council of Ministers Decree No. 127, and fines totaling 1,857 leva were imposed. [passage omitted]

The Executive Committee of Sofia City People's Council held a session on 16 June 1989 to examine the results of the comprehensive inspection in fulfillment of Council of Ministers Decree No 13.

The Executive Committee of Sofia City People's Council characterized as unsatisfactory the work carried out so far by the executive committees of the municipal people's councils, the economic organizations, and the companies in organizing effective control and observance of the regulations for trade and services in the capital.

—The chairmen of the executive committees of the following municipal people's councils were instructed to pay greater attention to these problems: Lyubomir Mirevski, Slatina; Katerin Katerinov, Krasna Polyana; Oleg Oprev, Bankya; Vasil Vasilev, Kremikovtsi; Georgi Bosolov, Poduyane; Ivan Ivanov, Ilinden; and Maksim Kunev, of Triaditsa Municipality.

The following economic leaders were given reprimands: Krustan Papazov, of the "Public Catering" Organization; Rumen Isaev, of the "Food Products" Organization; and Chavdar Iliev, of the "Triaditsa" Associated Trading Enterprise. The Administrative Council of the Central Cooperative Union was asked to examine the work of Shalom Krispin, chairman of the City Cooperative Union, and of Veselin Kanev, chairman of "Narkoop."

—Because of violations permitted in the establishments managed under Council of Ministers Decrees 35 and 17, contractual relations will cease between the companies and organizations concerned and the municipal people's councils. [passage omitted]

—The executive committees of the municipal people's councils and the leaderships of the companies and organizations for trade and services should examine the results of the inspection in fulfillment of Council of Ministers Decree No 13 of 14 April 1989, and adopt specific measures to overcome the weaknesses permitted, including imposition of administrative penalties on the guilty officials.

—The companies and economic organizations for trade and services should review the systems of internal departmental control within their systems and make appropriate changes in order to raise the effectiveness of their work.

—The leaderships of the companies and economic organizations for trade and services, production enterprises, and suppliers should analyze and reexamine the system of goods distribution from the warehouses to the stores and service establishments, and draw up an effective system of supply and control.

Warning Issued to Charter Appeal Signatories

AU0307110289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Jun 89 p 2

["R.P."-signed commentary: "He Who Sows the Wind"]

[Text] Yesterday evening [29 June] an American radio station broadcast a piece called "A few Sentences." What it was was an appeal for confrontation with the socialist state and our socialist system, containing demands for recognition of the "charter" [Charter 77] and its offshoots, for it to be able to carry on its disruptive activity freely, for the united trade unions and other social organizations to be broken up, and for a return to unbridled private enterprise. It is an appeal for the sellout of socialism. The authors assert that if the aforementioned and other demands are not complied with, the CSSR will lose its last and only chance to get out of the alleged "blind alley" in which we allegedly "find ourselves." And they threaten that a national crisis, in other words a "sharp confrontation," will occur.

Such petition-mania is intended to increase the popularity of several dozen antisocialist-oriented individuals and win the public's support for objectives about which most people know very little or have the wrong ideas. There is no doubt about who is behind this, what the political objective is of such actions by, above all, Radio Free Europe, Voice of America, and other American institutions. What is involved is the overthrow of our social system, because "contemporary Czechoslovakia (allegedly) has nothing to say about the present," and is—as the well-known anticommunist, Brzezinski, said in an interview with the BBC a few days ago—"on its last legs." Therefore, it is necessary—and other "strategists" of his type also advise this—to give it a final push. Within a year, according to the prophecy of that gentleman, communism will be finished in Czechoslovakia.

Any thinking person knows that what is involved here are not just "a few sentences." What is involved here is that forces acting in the service of our enemy carry a part of society along with them and that, alongside their own signatures, the authors of the appeal have won over some popular artists and other citizens as "bait." Thus on one list there are the well-known "chartists" Vondra, Devaty, J. Dienstbier, Hradilek, Benda, Maly, Silhan, Uhl, L. Vaculik, J. Carnogursky, Sabata, and with them—as an American radio station says—J. Bartoska, V. Merta, D. Kolarova, B. Polivka, M. Kocab, H. Zagorova, J. Kemr, J. Suchy.

We know what the "chartists" are after. But what do the others want? Also disruption, confrontation, a return to capitalism? And in what manner should such a return materialize? We have experienced it before. We have had our lessons, which we should not forget. In his time, even such a "humanist" and "democrat" as Professor Vaclav Cerny said that when settling accounts he would not even stop at the gallows and street lantern masts.

No. This plan will not come off. Patience has its limits. There is an instructive proverb: "He who sows the wind will reap the whirlwind." It is time that everyone who is trying to play with fire realizes that truth.

Calls for Punishment of Appeal Signatories

AU0507194189

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 1, 3, and 4 July, on pages 1 and 2, publish statements by individuals, labor teams, and party groups condemning the authors and signatories of the "A Few Sentences" appeal, which was broadcast by Radio Free Europe on 29 June.

On 1 July, in the "A Word on the Day" column on page 1, both party papers carry a 300-word "telex" by four "youth brigades of socialist labor" from Vitkovice, in which they "condemn" the demands of the appeal, disapprove of the assessment of its authors that Czechoslovakia has found itself in "a blind alley" and is "on its last legs," and express the confidence that the country will achieve the aims of restructuring and democratization under the leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ].

On 3 July, in the "A Word on the Day" column on page 1, RUDE PRAVO publishes a 250-word statement by a socialist labor brigade from the Klement Gottwald steel mill in Ostrava and a 150-word statement by functionaries of the Czechoslovak Women's Union from Chrudim. The Ostrava steelworkers say that they "cannot comprehend that there are individuals or groups of people in our country who, by kindling passions and various forms of antisocial conduct, seek to disrupt the path of the restructuring of our society on which we have embarked." They also call it "startling" that these groups include the names of people "whom our society furnishes with very good material provisions." The women functionaries from Chrudim "condemn the incendiary pamphlet," which they say is aimed at "disrupting our building efforts." They continue: "Over the last 20 years our society gave everyone the chance to demonstrate by his work his positive attitude toward society. What do [the actress and 'A Few Sentences' signatory] D. Kolarova and the others want? Has our society given them too little?"

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 3 July on pages 1 and 2, under the headline "We Will Not Allow Our Laws To Be Violated," carries a 1,100-word roundup of reactions to the article "Who Sows the Wind." In its introductory remarks, PRAVDA notes that in the reactions received by the editorial office to date, "all our readers without exception take a stand against the authors of the 'A Few Sentences' appeal, which they unequivocally regard as a call for confrontation with the policy of restructuring and democratization." In the subsequent statements, Anna Mazuchova, a kindergarten director, expresses her "shock" at the fact that the signatories "include some prominent artists who enjoy great popularity in our country" and accuses them of "having put their popularity into the service of the enemies of socialism." Mazuchova also calls for the use of "power instruments" against the signatories. She says: "I cannot help but believe that in such cases, when illegal groups overtly attempt to undermine socialism, threatening even with physical confrontation, the power instruments of our socialist state should be put to use far more consistently. I personally believe that the arm of the law ought to come down more severely upon those who, for 30 pieces of silver, sell to the class enemy their origin, affiliation with our nation, and the status which our system allowed them to acquire. After all, subversive activity, and I consider the appeal 'A Few Sentences' to be one, represents serious violation of our laws."

Another statement published in the Bratislava PRAVDA roundup, by Milan Thomka, a car mechanic from Vrutky, calls for banning the signatories of the appeal from television screens. Thomka says: "I reject the appearance of [musician and appeal signatory] Michal Kocab in the Television Youth Club program of 23 June 1989 when he was not ashamed of talking about having recovered his lost civil rights and liberties. What are we to think about such a statement? Let him come among us, let us discuss matters, let him tell us when he lost them, and let us tell him how much we value all the accomplishments of socialism. We can do without him and artists like him. We know that much of what is in their heads does not spring from inside them. We will not be carried away by false appeals and signature-collecting campaigns. On the television screens we want to see singers and actors who breathe the same air as us and whose hearts beat in the same rhythm."

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 4 February, in the "A Word on the Day" column on page 1, carries a 150-word statement by Josef Musil, chairman of a cooperative farm in South Bohemia, entitled "What We Want." In an indirect reference to the appeal's call for reinstatement of private enterprise and on behalf of cooperative farmers, Musil rejects the authors' acting as "our self-appointed spokesmen" and assures them that "no one in our united agricultural cooperative is interested in private enterprise."

Also on 4 July, on page 2, RUDE PRAVO carries a 500-word "discussion on a current topic," in which Pavel Filip interviews the staff of a communal enterprise in Prague-4 on their view of the "provocative appeal of 'A Few Sentences'." In the discussion, which is published under the headline "We Support Restructuring, We Reject Destruction," the employees interviewed by RUDE PRAVO convey their view that what the republic now needs is a calm atmosphere for work and not "passions" and describe the appeal as a "provocation directed against our social system." Two interview participants also draw a parallel with 1968. Zdenek Vach, chairman of the party organization in the enterprise, is quoted as having said: "The intention, of which the illegal groups make no secret, that is, to create political opposition, has been confirmed once again. They are calling on our leadership to reassess the events of the years of crisis 1968-69 and to revoke the lessons. We know very well what it was that caused the crisis of society then, thwarting even positive and well-intended aims." The enterprise economist Bretislav Kotyza says: "The very title of the appeal reminds me of the 'Two Thousand Words' [1968 manifesto later billed as "counterrevolutionary"]. I doubt, however, that such an appeal could gain the support of the working people. People know very well that general talk will not help. It is not enough to talk about matters, we must change them through specific labor actions—therein lies the essence of restructuring."

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 4 July on page 2, under the headline "We Condemn Attempts at Disrupting the Process of Restructuring," carries another roundup (of approximately 1,000 words) of reactions to the article "Who Sows the Wind." The round-up includes, for example, a statement by Stefan Paces, chairman of the party organization at the District National Committee in Trencin, who voices his "outrage" at "A Few Sentences," which he views as "an incendiary appeal whose aim is to bring about a tense atmosphere." Paces also expresses his "confidence" that "all upright citizens of the CSSR, Communists and people without party affiliation, will reject such petitions." Other statements published in the roundup, by Jozef Hroch, a research worker from Zilina, and by the party organization in the Galanta Machine Tool Factory, demand the punishment of the authors of the appeal. Hroch says: "We must not allow the misuse of openness and democracy by those who deserve no credit for the process of restructuring, by those who sully the results we have achieved. I believe that our state will be able to cope with those elements. Laws and discipline must be binding for everyone. This is the case in all advanced states and the CSSR will be no exception." The Galanta Communists link the appeal with the recently uncovered acts of industrial sabotage in Czechoslovakia. They say: "The deliberate setting of fires aimed at causing difficulties to our national economy shows that, when it proves impossible to harm Socialist Czechoslovakia in other ways, one resorts to even the worst methods of terrorism. The endeavor of 'Chartists' to frustrate the development of socialism in Czechoslovakia cost what it may is to be seen clearly from this. 'Let people rail at Communists, they are to blame for everything'—that seems to be their ideology, in which they are supported also from abroad. We resolutely condemn the activity of these groups and demand their just punishment."

Charter 77 Signatory Sentenced for 'Incitement'

AU0307131289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 29 Jun 89 p 2

["sd"-signed report: "Sentences for Incitement"]

[Text] Usti nad Orlici (From our correspondent)—The trial of Charter 77 signatory Frantisek Starek of Teplice, who already had a criminal record, and his common-law wife Iva Vojtkova of Ceska Trebova ended before the district court in Usti nad Orlici on Wednesday [28 June].

Defendant F. Starek was found guilty of the criminal offense of incitement under Article 100, paragraphs 1/a and 3/a of the Penal Code and defendant I. Vojtkova was found guilty of having assisted F. Starek in committing this criminal offense. According to the verdict, the defendant's criminal activity rested in the fact that, out of hostility for the socialist social system and the state system of the republic, he collected, in Ceska Trebova and elsewhere, background materials from various persons, the contents of which he altered, and from which he produced, in I. Vojtkova's apartment in Ceska Trebova and elsewhere, printed matter with antisocialist orientation, which he then reproduced on a duplicating machine and disseminated among other persons. He engaged in this activity since at least 1987 until his arrest on 23 February 1989. I. Vojtkova assisted F. Starek's criminal activity by making available to him premises in her family home in Ceska Trebova.

F. Starek was sentenced to 2 and ½ years of deprivation of freedom and assigned to a second category prison. Furthermore, he was placed under protective surveillance for a period of 2 years and made to forfeit articles that were directly connected with his criminal activity. I. Vojtkova was sentenced to an educational punishment of 1 year of deprivation of freedom suspended for a 2-year probation period. The verdict has not yet acquired the force of law.

Charter 77 Supporters Linked to Sabotage

AU0507145989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Jul 89 p 1

[Interview with Major Miloslav Novak, head of the investigation department of the National Security Corps in Litomerice: "Details Concerning Serious Crimes" by RUDE PRAVO and CTK—date, place not given]

[Text] Prague—As the public has already been informed, recently security organs and the prosecutor's office have clarified a series of fires which had been set in industrial facilities on the territory of the Czech Socialist Republic since 1986 and the murder of 17-year-old J.H. which is closely linked to this criminal act.

Major Miloslav Novak, head of the investigation department of the National Security Corps in Litomerice, has given more details about these serious crimes in an interview with RUDE PRAVO and CTK:

[Question] Can you be more specific about the industrial facilities which were attacked and outline what kind of damage occurred and, as the case may be, what kind of other negative consequences have arisen for the national economy?

[Novak] The fire in the Steti North Bohemian Paper Works enterprise was set in the paper packaging center during the early morning hours of 26 September 1986. The fire caused immediate damage amounting to Kcs89,500. The production of paper packaging intended for domestic customers and for export, including the production of newsprint, was threatened.

The fire in the Agrozet enterprise in Roudnice nad Labem was set on 28 October 1986 in the paint shop. Immediate damage amounted to Kcs773,000 and ensuing damage amounted to Kcs764,000. The production of precision sowing and other agricultural machinery was threatened.

The fire in the Melnik sugar mill was set in the early morning hours of 8 November 1986 in the refinery production center. Immediate damage amounted to Kcs31 million. The sugar mill was utilized to refine sugar intended mainly for export.

On 1 March 1988 a fire was set in the Kaucuk enterprise in Kralupy nad Vltavou with immediate damage totaling Kcs19 million. The fire disrupted the production and distribution of polystyrene.

[Question] What connection had the murder of 17-year-old J.H. with the setting of the fires?

[Novak] In Steti in 1984 a fascist oriented group with the name of Werewolf was formed and among the members was J.H. After being convicted for the offense of supporting and propagating fascism the members of the group strived to renew their other activities, whereas J.H. declined to participate in this. The other members, fearing discovery, decided to eliminate him and, therefore, on 4 June 1985 he was murdered in his place of residence. At that time they were already preparing acts of sabotage.

[Question] How big was the organized group about which we are speaking and what was its age and social composition?

[Novak] From an originally small group founded in 1984 with fascist tendencies and called Werewolf, the core of the group became the basis for a growing organized group of criminals whose numbers exceeded several dozen persons. At present, criminal proceedings are being taken against more than 30 individuals. We are mainly talking about persons under the age of 20 who incline toward committing crimes, alcohol abuse, and drug addiction. A means of strengthening discipline and obedience in the gang was the participation of new members in setting small fires in old hay stacks, grass, and trees. This activity led to the gradual compromising of individual members and committed them to other greater acts of sabotage. Reminders of the murder of J.H. also served to intimidate the group's members. It is possible to characterize the social composition of the group by the statement of one of the organizers that "people from the last category" were deliberately selected, that is, those young people in the 16-20 age group who are inclined toward anti-social activity. They were chosen from the ranks of young people who hang around in restaurants, hiking groups, and from among new drug addicts.

[Question] Their close relationship to illegal groups arises out of a statement made by the press spokesman of the Federal Ministry of the Interior. Can you give more details concerning the persons who were detained recently and on the circumstances?

[Novak] Those arrested were taken into custody and are being prosecuted for taking part in the criminal act of sabotage. From the investigation carried out so far it unequivocally arises that the sabotage activity of the organized group was instigated and controlled by persons who identify themselves as supporters of Charter 77. The motivation for the behavior of this group also sprang from here, behavior based on financial support and a promise of further money and aid, a promise of freedom in the use of drugs, and a promise of personal advantages and functions in the case of a change to the state system and victory for the supporters of Charter 77. For this purpose fires were set with the aim of damaging the Czechoslovak economy, causing unrest among the population, and thus helping to bring about a nationwide crisis. The link with the supporters of Charter 77 was never meant to be revealed and it was assumed that this relationship would remain a secret forever.

Text of Foreign Ministry Statement on Visas

AU0307153489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Jul 89 p 2

[CTK report: "On the Issuing of Visas to Czechoslovak Citizens"]

[Text] Ivan Kulhanek, press spokesman for the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, issued the following statement on Friday [30 June]:

The Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs has recently been receiving complaints from Czechoslovak citizens about problems connected with obtaining visas to some Western countries. The Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been following the visa practices of these countries for a long time and in talks with their representatives it has time and again pointed out the need to simplify and speed up the issuing of entry visas for Czechoslovak citizens. At the CSCE meeting in Vienna and during talks at the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Prague, with both ambassadors and consuls of a number of Western countries, the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been pointing out the numerous complications, and lengthy procedures, in granting entry visas to CSSR citizens. In strong contrast with this, in the absolute majority of cases CSSR embassies and consulates issue Czechoslovak entry visas while one waits. The need to improve the visa practices of these countries regarding CSSR citizens has become even more acute after the adoption of the final document of the Vienna CSCE meeting, as well as in light of measures on the part of Czechoslovakia which facilitate travel by CSSR citizens abroad.

In this context, the ambassadors and consuls of the FRG, Austria, Italy, the Netherlands, France, and Great Britain have recently been summoned to the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The request has repeatedly been conveyed to them to improve conditions for issuing visas to Czechoslovak citizens and to adopt such measures as would prevent the occurrence of sometimes undignified situations in front of some Western consulates in Prague. Representatives of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs used this occasion to stress that they expect the situation in this regard to improve as soon as possible.

Further on Liberalization of Foreign Travel

AU0507185589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Jul 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Changes in Private Travel Abroad"]

[Text] Prague—According to information provided by the Federal Ministry of Interior, some changes will come into effect on 1 July 1989 in the conditions for private journeys abroad and in the processing of applications for the issue of travel documents for permanent residence abroad.

According to the measures which have been adopted, citizens can travel privately to nonsocialist countries and Yugoslavia in any of the the following ways:

—within the framework of tourist trips organized through travel agencies or other tour operators;
—on the basis of an invitation; here, in contrast to the previous practice, there are no longer any restrictions under which one has to be related to the person issuing the invitation. (In other words, Czechoslovak citizens can be invited abroad by anybody, regardless of whether the person issuing the invitation is staying abroad with or without the consent of Czechoslovak authorities);
—on the basis of a foreign currency allocation from the Czechoslovak State Bank, on the basis of a deposit made specifically for this purpose with a Czechoslovak foreign currency bank, or on the basis of a foreign currency account with a Czechoslovak foreign currency bank.

In addition to these types of private trips, it will also be possible—and this is new—to make trips by invitation to participate in congresses, symposiums, and lectures. The invitation can also come from juridical persons such as various organizations, institutions, and so forth. The only prerequisite is a recommendation by the head of the organization in whose interest the trip is to take place.

Private trips can also be made on a repeated basis. As to their duration, as a rule one will take into account the amount of annual vacation available within the framework of 1 calendar year. This does not apply to Czechoslovak citizens who have already retired, who can travel without any restriction on the number of trips and their duration.

Increased attention will continue to be paid to the prompt processing of applications for the issue of travel documents for private trips of so-called humanitarian nature.

A change of principle occurs with regard to the processing of travel documents for Czechoslovak citizens' permanent residence abroad (so-called emigration). On the basis of the measures adopted, conditions have now been created for reuniting families in keeping with the final document of the Vienna follow-up meeting. The change consists primarily in the fact that the [5-year] deadline for the possibility of reuniting a family in those cases where a member of the family stayed abroad without the consent of the Czechoslovak authorities has been abolished.

The 5-year deadline has been abandoned also with regard to the so-called normalization [uprava] of legal relations toward the CSSR by those Czechoslovak citizens who live abroad without the consent of Czechoslovak authorities.

Other measures are also being prepared at present. The Czechoslovak public will be informed about them as soon as they are discussed and approved by the relevant agencies.

The measures which have been adopted or which are being prepared are a reflection of the active approach by the relevant Czechoslovak state bodies to the consistent and prompt implementation of the final document from the Vienna follow-up meeting.

Defense Minister Attends Jakes-Lushev Talks

AU0507133489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Jun 89 p 1

[CTK report: "Comrade M. Jakes Received P. Lushev"]

[Text] Prague—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee, received Army General Petr Lushev, chief commander of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, who is paying a brief working visit to Czechoslovakia, in Prague on Thursday [29 June—FBIS].

On the agenda of their talks, which were held in a comradely atmosphere, were topical issues of international security and of the Warsaw Pact states' defense policy. The two representatives discussed those issues in connection with the preparations for the upcoming session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member states in Bucharest.

The reception was attended by Army General Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense.

Fojtik Meets USSR Supreme Soviet Deputies

AU0507190289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 1 Jul 89 p 2

["z"-signed report: "Visiting Deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] Prague—A delegation of deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet, headed by Vladimir Ivashko, member of the CPSU Central Committee and secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, is paying a visit to the CSSR at the invitation of the Propaganda Department of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee. In accordance with the implementation of the program for ideological cooperation between the CPCZ and the CPSU, the Soviet guests attended ideological aktivs in Prague, Brno, and Bratislava with staffers and lecturers of the party's central and regional bodies. In extensive discussions at those meetings, which attest to our citizens' great interest in current events in the Soviet Union, and by means of talks in the media's editorial offices, they acquainted the Czechoslovak people with the deliberations and results of the first session of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies.

During their stay, the deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet were received by Jan Fojtik, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. The talk, that was devoted to topical issues of the domestic political situation in the two countries and cooperation between the two parties, affirmed the unanimity of views regarding the CPCZ and CPSU approach to restructuring and the democratization of society, and the mutual understanding to respect the specific conditions of the development of each country.

Jaroslav Jenik, head of the CPCZ Central Committee's Propaganda Department, also met with the Soviet guests.

Leaders Greet Archbishop Tomasek on Birthday

AU0307120689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Jun 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Letters to Cardinal Tomasek"]

[Text] Prague—CSSR President Gustav Husak has sent a letter to Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek, Archbishop of Prague, congratulating him on his 90th birthday, which he celebrates on Friday, 30 June. The letter states:

Your Eminence, please accept my cordial greetings and congratulations on your important anniversary—your 90th birthday.

I value all efforts which contribute to the development of our socialist fatherland. In this connection I appreciate the active participation of believers in everything which our nations have achieved over the past decades. I would like to voice the conviction that as the most prominent representative of the Roman Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia you will assist in this common endeavor.

Your Eminence, I wish you all the best, much personal happiness and, above all, robust health in the coming years.

Milos Jakes, chairman of the CSSR National Front, has also sent a congratulatory letter on the occasion:

Your Eminence, permit me to sincerely congratulate you on your important anniversary—your 90th birthday.

On this occasion I would like to express the conviction that in your function as an important representative of the Roman Catholic Church you will support the fulfillment of the noble goals of our fatherland's further socialist development, and the strengthening of peace in the world.

I wish you health and personal happiness in the years to come.

X X X

CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec also congratulated Cardinal Tomasek. In his letter he mentions, in particular, the contributions made by the cardinal to the strengthening of the much needed trust in relations between the state and the church and to expanding the contributions by believers in the peaceful construction of a socially just society.

Janak Meets New Bulgarian Consul in Bratislava

AU0407154089 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 30 Jun 89 p 1

[Excerpt] Bratislava (CTK)—Ignac Janak, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee and first secretary of the CPSL [Slovak Communist Party] Central Committee, received Nikola Kirkov, consul general of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in Bratislava, in connection with the latter's taking up his post. [passage omitted]

Slovak National Council Holds Session 28 Jun

AU3006161289 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 Jun 89 p 1

[Antonia Vymazalova and Frantisek Melis report: "The Slovak SR State Final Account Is Approved; The Slovak National Council Gathered for Its 14th Session"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava (From our parliamentary correspondents)—Yesterday the Slovak National Council [SNR] discussed the draft for the Slovak Socialist Republic [SR] state final account for 1988 at its 14th session which was held in Bratislava. Ignac Janak, member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Central Committee, Pavel Hrivnak, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Slovak SR premier, members of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium, the Slovak SR Government, and other guests participated in the discussion.

The session was chaired by Viliam Salgovic, member of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium and SNR Chairman. On behalf of the SNR Presidium, he congratulated Pavel Hrivnak on his election to the post of Slovak SR premier and, at the same time, thanked Ivan Knotek for his work in this post and for his good cooperation with SNR organs.

After verifying the validity of the by-elections for SNR deputies which were held in constituencies No. 32 Nitra-West and No. 142 Spisska Nova Ves, Karol Hildebrand and Vasil Bejda took the deputy's oath in accordance with Article 144 of the Constitutional Law on the Czechoslovak Federation.

The deputies then elected Jan Gajdosik as deputy chairman of the SNR and as chairman of the SNR Planning and Budget Committee. Later they elected SNR deputy Bohumil Chudy as chairman of the SNR Mandate and Immunity Committee and they also elected the newly elected SNR deputies as members of its committees.

Frantisek Miseje, Slovak SR minister for finance, prices, and wages, outlined the draft for the Slovak SR state final account for 1988. [passage omitted]

The SNR deputies then approved the Slovak SR state final account for 1988. [passage omitted]

After the discussion ended the SNR Presidium convened and in accordance with Article 104, Paragraph 2 of the Constitutional Law No. 143/1968 on the Czechoslovak Federation in conformity with Constitutional Law No. 125/1970, it declared the spring session of the SNR closed effective from 29 June 1989.

Reshuffle in Central Slovak Regional Committee

AU0507184789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Jun 89 p 2

["ns"-signed report: "Regional Party Committees Held Meetings; On Topical Political Issues"]

[Excerpts] Banska Bystrica/Usti nad Labem/Bratislava (Our correspondents)—On Thursday [29 June], regional party committees held meetings in Usti nad Labem and in Banska Bystrica, and the CPSL [Slovak Communist Party] City Committee held a meeting in Bratislava.

The deliberations in Banska Bystrica, which were devoted to the implementation of school policy under the conditions of restructuring, were attended by Ignac

Janak, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee. [passage omitted]

The session approved a proposal to release Jan Gajdosik from the post of leading secretary of the CPSL Regional Committee in connection with his being elected deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council. At the same time, Jan Selecky was coopted as member of the Central Slovak CPSL Regional Committee and elected its leading secretary. [passage omitted]

Further on Reshuffle

AU0507190989 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 1 Jul 89 p 2

[Text] Banska Bystrica (CTK)—A session of the Central Slovak Regional National Committee in Banska Bystrica yesterday [30 June] discussed the implementation of tasks in the sphere of the Central Slovak region's water economy, as well as the current state and the further development of physical education, sports, tourism, and paramilitary sports. The session was attended by Kamil Brodziansky, deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council; Julius Ciganek, Slovak deputy minister of forestry, water economy, and the wood-processing industry; and other guests. The session released Pavel Bolvansky from the post of chairman of the Central Slovak Regional National Committee in connection with his election as member of the Presidium and secretary of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee. The provisional management of the Central Slovak Regional National Committee was entrusted to its Deputy Chairman Jan Mesiarik.

Slovak Institute To Pursue High Technology

AU0507152589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Jul 89 p 2

["mu"-signed report: "Modern Technology for Electronics"]

[Text] Piestany—The Czechoslovak electronics industry could advance to the front ranks, and within the framework of the CEMA countries it could even become a leader in the production of integrated circuits based on gallium arsenide. These components constitute a substantial part of the antennas of microwave satellite communications, computers of the new generation, optoelectronic communication systems, and laser technology.

A new institute for the research of the technology and experimental production of microelectronic structures on the basis of gallium arsenide has been set up in Piestany for joint use by the Tesla enterprise and the Electrophysical Research Center attached to the Slovak Academy of Sciences [SAV]. Modern technology for the production of components in super-pure environments does not exist in Czechoslovakia yet. The credit for the setting up of the new institute goes to a number of experts from production and scientific-technical institutes and institutes of higher learning. It is up to the staff of the Piestany Tesla enterprise and the SAV as to how long it will take before it can go into full operation. It should not take too long, because these components are still expensive on world markets.

Interior Minister on Improving Management

AU0507203389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Jul 89 p 3

[Interview with Frantisek Kincl, CSSR minister of interior, by RUDE PRAVO staff journalist Karel Walter: "Interests of Society Must Be Efficiently Safeguarded"—place, date not given]

[Excerpts] Deepening the legal nature of the socialist state, strengthening socialist legality, and thus also perfecting the activity of the state bodies, is a part of the changes in our society. We have spoken about this theme with Frantisek Kincl, CSSR minister of interior.

[Walter] A few months ago the Federal Ministry of Interior underwent structural changes. What was their purpose?

[Kincl] We, too, are striving for more efficient management, for increasing the qualifications of subdivisions and ranking personnel, for rational use of social resources in our activity, for scientific-technical development of the security service, and so forth. We have created better organization for the work of the security bodies at the central level, as well as concrete prerequisites for enhancing the standard of management throughout the structure of the SNB [National Security Corps], the Border Guards, and the troops of the Ministry of Interior. We have strengthened the direct security service by redistributing the manpower of the ministry, and by substantially reducing its management and security apparatus. By the end of this year, we will vacate in Prague 10,300 square meters of facilities. For example, a 4,440 square meter facility has already been vacated on Snemovni Street.

[Walter] Does the reorganization also apply to the content of the ministry's work?

[Kincl] The primary task of security bodies is to safeguard the further development of society under the new conditions, support positive tendencies and, at the same time, foil attempts to destabilize and disrupt the socialist system. [passage omitted]

[Walter] In order to fulfill their tasks, members of the SNB have considerable powers. For example, under certain conditions they are authorized to interfere with citizens' personal freedoms and rights. This, however, presupposes great responsibility. How do they cope with it?

[Kincl] One of the fundamental principles of our activity is socialist legality. This by itself presupposes a high-degree of legal culture, morals, and a firm character. I think that the overwhelming majority of our members possess these qualities.

Our work is extensively scrutinized by the public. In the past as well as of late, those in charge of the Interior Ministry's divisions have been receiving numerous suggestions and recommendations, but also complaints about members of the SNB. We are systematically striving to eliminate the criticized shortcomings. We uncompromisingly prosecute instances, although isolated, when members violated discipline or even laws by taking disciplinary measures, dismissal from the service, and even prosecution in accordance with criminal law. However, we also have been receiving a number of unjustified complaints. Some of them are quite obviously motivated by hostility with the aim to besmirch and discredit the SNB.

[Walter] Allow me to go back to one specific, older case. In the course of the criminal proceedings against Stanislav Babinsky from Orava, it emerged that the security's attention was drawn to his activities, but at the request of district functionaries (later sentenced) it did nothing. Is it not possible that something like that will repeat itself?

[Kincl] The case you mentioned was exceptional not only as regards the deeds committed, but also as regards the causes and conditions which had made it possible to carry on criminal activities for a longer time and with the participation of a number of culprits. And not only that; within the framework of the entire SNB, appropriate organizational, cadre, and other measures were drawn. [passage omitted]

[Walter] Illegal groups are trying to misuse the process of democratization in our country for antisocialist aims. We witnessed this, for example, during the January events. What could you say about their activities today?

[Kincl] The organizing of provocative actions against the political and social principles of the socialist system in the CSSR continues. The mentioned groups are strongly supported from abroad, they are connected to reactionary emigrees and international reaction in general. Although these forces have not found broader support among our citizens, their activities cannot be ignored or underestimated. In our opinion, above all, political means must be used against them. That, however, does not mean that in cases when laws are broken we shall not proceed against them in accordance with valid laws.

[Walter] In the first months of this year security bodies registered a number of anonymous telephone calls threatening terrorist actions. Do the telephone calls still continue in such numbers?

[Kincl] The highest numbers were registered in February and March, then they decreased a bit, but they still occur. Investigating them is an exacting job, and their consequences complicate our citizens' lives.

[Walter] Can you provide figures?

[Kincl] By the middle of May there had been 377 calls, of which 110 were in Prague, and 107 in Usti nad Labem. During that period there were also 53 anonymous, threatening letters.

[Walter] How many of the authors of the threats have you found out?

[Kincl] A total of 53, of which 50 were prosecuted. Among the number of culprits discovered, 6 were minors and 16 were juveniles. The anonymous calls and letters caused delays in transportation (including air transportation), people had to be evacuated from some places, in some enterprises production was interrupted, and complications with patients' treatment occurred in hospitals. For example, the damage that ensued from the interruption of the operations of the Jested television transmitter in Liberec has been estimated at about Kcs300,000.

[Walter] What were the culprits' motives?

[Kincl] Just for the heck of it, attempts to avoid some duty (school, job), all the way to the settling of personal accounts and attempts to intimidate someone in the fulfillment of his duties. There is no doubt that many of the anonymous calls or letters at that time were connected with the tension caused in society by forces we have already mentioned. [passage omitted]

[Walter] After quite some time, we have again experienced hijacking attempts, one of which succeeded. Are the measures aimed at making air transportation safe sufficient?

[Kincl] We study each such attempt thoroughly and investigate where inadequacies might still exist, which would-be hijackers could exploit. Compared with other countries, the standard of our protection of air transportation is just as good. After all, this is also attested to by the energetic action against the hijacker on the Prague to Karlovy Vary route last May. Here I would like to add that in the past 10 years members of the SNB foiled 11 hijacking attempts. Only in three cases—because the passengers' safety was at stake—did they fail to prevent hijackings.

[Walter] The FRG authorities still have not decided whether they will extradite to Czechoslovakia the hijackers of the Hungarian airliner. Is precisely such an attitude not an encouragement for would-be hijackers?

[Kincl] The number of attempts increased after the hijacking in March. I am convinced that dealing with hijackers in an uncompromising way, including their extradition to states in which the deed was committed, would, to say the least, substantially reduce the number of acts of air piracy. Not only in Czechoslovakia, of course. [passage omitted]

[Walter] The new economic mechanism should influence the extent of criminal activity against property in socialist ownership for the better. However, there will certainly be people looking for ways to get around the law.

[Kincl] The new legal principles governing economic relations between socialist organizations are likely to find their expression in the structure of economic criminality. For example, some forms of antisocial behavior might cease to be a danger to society and, on the other hand, quite new forms might come into being, which will be highly dangerous.

[Walter] What would they be?

[Kincl] The independence of the economic organizations in entrepreneurship could bring some negative phenomena, for example in the methods of creating profits. Speculative or other harmful tendencies might emerge in the course of our enterprises' cooperation with foreign firms, as well as in individual entrepreneurship or individuals' labor activity. We must also reckon with so-called computer criminality and other, still very little known forms of criminal activity. [passage omitted]

[Walter] When amending the Penal Code, it is proposed to strike out the criminal offense of leaving the republic. Will this not reduce the importance of protection of the state border?

[Kincl] For reason of accuracy one has to add that within the framework of the mentioned amendment, one is contemplating amending the content of Article 109 from the existing criminal offense of "leaving the republic" to the criminal activity of "unauthorized crossing of the state border." Only qualified and socially dangerous forms of making an unauthorized crossing of the state border will constitute a criminal offense, whereas other forms should be treated as misdemeanors. The proposed amendment respects the stipulation of Article 12 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, according to which everyone can leave any country, including his own. However, at the same time the aforementioned document accords the state the right to stipulate and demand appropriate principles for crossing the state border. The protection of the state border will continue to be one of the components of the CSSR security and legal system, and will maintain its importance. However, the new legal amendment, provided it is adopted, will certainly influence the manner of the protection of the state border, the service of the border guards, and the means used for the protection. [passage omitted]

Australian Parliamentary Delegation Ends Visit

AU0507184389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
1 Jul 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Australian Delegation Ends Visit"]

[Excerpt] Bratislava—[Passage omitted] The Australian parliamentary delegation headed by Senate's Chairman Kerry Walter Sibraa ended its official visit to the CSSR on Friday [30 June]. In an interview with Czechoslovak journalists before the departure, Kerry Walter Sibraa expressed satisfaction with the first visit by an Australian parliamentary delegation to the CSSR. He described the talks, which concerned foreign policy, trade, the environment, and mutual relations, as useful. Regarding the future mutual relations he mentioned that a Czechoslovak parliamentary delegation has been invited to visit Australia, and said that such exchanges should be regular. Speaking about trade relations, he said that in the past 12 months trade increased from Australian $76 million to 113 million. However, one should keep in mind that the starting base was too low. Long-term deliveries of Australian iron ore to Czechoslovakia were also discussed. The structure of mutual trade is to be defined in September. He described the sister cities agreement between Nitra and Gosford as constructive.

Commentary on Dismantling of 'Iron Curtain'

AU0507141089 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
1 Jul 89 p 4

[Vojtech Vesely article: "Beside the So-called Iron Curtain"]

[Excerpts] The wooded hill, which mushroom pickers from the town of Sopron call Hubertusz Hill after a nearby inn, by all appearances, will enter into the consciousness of the public throughout the entire world. At least 300 correspondents from Austria and Hungary gathered here, as well as journalists from other countries who are accredited in Vienna and Budapest, for an event which will, obviously, be declared as the beginning of the pulling down of the iron curtain. Western propaganda has been feeding its channels for many years with this concept, they held it up as a symbol of the greatest evil in the world, as the border between the free and the rest of the world. True, at the same time it has been forgotten that the signal for the construction of a huge iron curtain between East and West was given shortly after the Second World War by Churchill and Truman. [passage omitted]

We are told that it was impossible to break through without touching at least two wires with a 24-volt shock, harmless for a human being. Contact set off sirens on the line and in the guard posts and betrayed the violator. Between the line of this signaling system and the state border itself there is around two kilometers of land, accessible up until now only with special permission and so it could be used for agriculture and for forestry only with difficulty. Of the 350 km Hungarian-Austrian border 260 km are equipped in this way and this represented thousands of hectares literally cut off from state territory. Now the issue involves returning this zone, it could be said "to peaceful use." Some sectors began to be eliminated in May but these were only trials. Now we are seeing the full onslaught complete with special-purpose machinery which will help to remove all of the equipment before the end of next year. [passage omitted]

Today is the time for building the "European home" whose individual rooms certainly should be linked by doors and not separated by fences. Only, the process which leads to this is not beginning with the dismantling of barriers in the woods but with the dismantling of those things which caused them—distrust and fear. Here on the Hungarian-Austrian border territory it is considered that a fence is not necessary, that anyone who wants can cross over to "the other side of the world" using the legal border crossing points.

When it is like this everywhere, when no one for political, economic, or any other reason has to cross the border by going through some woods or over a fence, then the bulldozers will come along to dismantle fences on all fenced-in sectors of Europe. Barriers between countries must be worn down and lose their function first of all in the moral and political sense. Then they will also become obsolete physically.

Calls To Activate Hungarian 'Silent Majority'

AU0507083589 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
3 Jul 89 p 4

["ve"-signed article: "Precongress Deliberations of Hungarian Communists; Call for Unity of Action"]

[Excerpts] Budapest (Our permanent correspondent)—The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] is preparing for a congress which will commence on 7 October. After the decision of the MSZMP Central Committee of 24 June to establish a 4-member leadership and adopt a stance on the situation in the party and its political objectives, voices predominate which call for overcoming extreme platforms within the party and for creating unity of action. [passage omitted]

Robert Ribanszki, representative of the united Marxist platform in the party, organized a meeting with journalists at which he took strong exception to accusations of standing on ultraleftist positions. The proponents of that course have sent a letter to the Central Committee in which they demand that the time left to the congress be used to activate the so-called silent majority of party members. At the same time they criticize the Central Committee for adopting some decisions without asking for the approval of party members. [passage omitted]

Joint Efforts With U.S. Firm To Promote Trade

AU0507143289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
4 Jul 89 p 6

["zr"-signed report: "Week in the World Economy"]

[Excerpt] Prague (zr)—The CSSR Ministry of Agriculture and Food has reached an agreement with the U.S. law firm Arter and Hadden on setting up a consortium, the aim of which will be to promote trade in agricultural products between Czechoslovakia and the United States. This was announced by Mario Castillo, a representative of the U.S. firm, who paid a visit to the CSSR at the invitation of Jaromir Algayer, CSSR minister of agriculture and food. [passage omitted]

Industrial Fair Ends; Trade Contract Figures

AU0407165389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
1 Jul 89 p 1

["gc"-signed report: "Incheba 89 Chemical Fair Has Ended; Deals Worth Almost Five Billion"]

[Excerpt] Bratislava (Our correspondent)—The Incheba 89 international chemical fair, at which 570 exhibitors from 28 countries and West Berlin presented the latest products of the chemical industry, ended in Bratislava on Friday [30 June].

At the fair Czechoslovak foreign trade organizations concluded export and import contracts worth Kcs4.8 billion, of which there were contracts for export worth Kcs1.7 billion and for import amounting to Kcs3.1 billion. [passage omitted]

Honecker Congratulates Bush on 4th of July

AU0507160389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Jul 89 p 2

[ND report: "Congratulations on U.S. National Day; Telegram From Erich Honecker to President George Bush"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR State Council, has conveyed the following telegram to George Bush, president of the United States of America:

I send you and your country sincere congratulations on your country's National Day and best wishes for a peaceful future.

I want to express the conviction that international political stability and security can be ensured by continuing the process of disarmament and detente. Equal, mutually advantageous relations between the GDR and the United States can be opportune and important for this.

Erich Honecker,

General Secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

Honecker Thanks Gorbachev on Ending Visit

AU0507133089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3 Jul 89 p 1

[ADN report: "Thanks for Cordial Hospitality"]

[Text] Magnitogorsk—During his flight back from his visit to the USSR, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, sent the following cable to Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet chairman:

On leaving the USSR territory, I permit myself to express my satisfaction with our meeting and my visit to Magnitogorsk, and to thank you once again for the warm hospitality extended to me. At the same time, I wish to express my conviction that the relations between our parties, countries, and peoples, which are marked by unprecedented intensity and diversity, will be deepened comprehensively in the interest of strengthening peace and consolidating the positions of socialism. The GDR will do everything in its power to purposefully fill with life the agreements concluded by us on the further shaping of the trusting cooperation with your country.

Please accept my best wishes for the successful implementation of the course adopted by the CPSU, for creativity and good health.

Plan Coordination With USSR Discussed

AU0507164089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Jun 89 p 8

[ADN report: "Plan Coordination Discussed With USSR Partners"]

[Text] East Berlin—Gerhard Tautenhahn, minister for the construction of general machinery, agricultural machinery, and vehicles, received Yuriy Nikolayevich Pisarev, deputy minister for the construction of automobiles and agricultural machinery, in Berlin on Thursday [29 June]. The friendly talk, which was attended by Igor Georgeovich Sidorov, section head of the CPSU Central Committee, focused on measures to coordinate the two countries' national economic plans for the 1991-95 period, and on steps to further implement the cooperation agreements in the sphere of road vehicles and agricultural equipment.

During its week-long stay in the GDR, the Soviet delegation had familiarized itself with new products and modern production methods in enterprises that specialize in the construction of agricultural machinery and automobiles.

Citizens May Leave Country Via Hungary

AU0307134689 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1100 GMT 3 Jul 89

[Text] The Iron Curtain has become penetrable. Hungary has started removing the border fence between it and Austria. In Geneva today, the UN high commissioner for refugees commented on the question of whether GDR citizens would possibly be able to go to the West via a more liberal Hungary and via its open borders. Marion Lorenz in Geneva has a report:

[Lorenz] This is a loophole in international law which seems to offer itself to GDR citizens. Hungary is the first Warsaw Pact country to sign the 1951 international convention on refugees. In doing so, it has undertaken the obligation to grant asylum to all refugees from the whole of Eastern Europe who seek asylum in Hungary; a relevant passage has especially been added to the document for Hungary.

So far, all GDR citizens who have tried to take such a step in Hungary—they can travel to Hungary as tourists without any problems—have been immediately deported to the GDR by the Hungarian Government, without their applications being dealt with at all.

However, the new obligation means that GDR citizens seeking asylum in Hungary must be admitted to one of the three refugee camps, their applications must be studied, and they are placed under the protection of the United Nations Organization. At the same time, they can apply for a passport at the German Embassy, because in practical terms they are also recognized as FRG citizens. Once their refugee status has been confirmed by Hungary—as in every application for asylum, the procedure is different in each individual case—as FRG citizens they have the right to go to the West or to the Federal Republic, via Austria.

The GDR is obviously very worried that this summer might be marked by a wave of refugees from the GDR to Hungary. Allegedly East Berlin is even considering restricting individual tourist travel to Hungary—however, these are just rumors.

The agreement between Budapest and the United Nations Organization was concluded because Hungary has been flooded with Romanian refugees for many months. Some 14,500 Romanians have been officially registered; however, the figure has been estimated at about 30,000. The obligation that Hungary signed regarding the UN convention on refugees became effective on 19 June. According to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees in Geneva, so far no GDR citizen has sought asylum in Hungary as a refugee. However, the commissioner believes that many thousands will do so, and the United Nations Organization has appropriated $5 million to update the three refugee camps in Hungary. In addition, the UN High Commissioner plans to open an office in Budapest to clarify juridical problems or problems of international law.

FRG Special Minister Seiters Visits for Talks

Fischer Receives Seiters

LD0307194189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1622 GMT 3 Jul 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Rudolf Seiters, federal minister for special assignments and head of the FRG Federal Chancellory, arrived this afternoon on an official visit to the GDR. He is responding to an invitation from GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer.

Oskar Fischer and Rudolf Seiters had a preliminary discussion. The FRG politician stated that he intends to use his first visit to the GDR since taking office for a detailed stocktaking of what has been achieved in relations between the GDR and the FRG. He agreed with the statement that the possibilities for the further expansion of the relations, as was agreed during the state visit to the FRG by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, should be made use of purposefully by both sides. This lies in the interests of all the peoples of our continent.

The talks will continue.

Seiters, Fischer Discuss Ties

LD0507125289 Hamburg DPA in German 1326 GMT 4 Jul 89

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA)—On his inaugural visit to East Berlin, Rudolf Seiters (Christian Democratic Union), minister in the Chancellor's Office, today referred to the problems of the division of Germany, which both German states cannot ignore. Before his meeting with state and party leader Erich Honecker late this afternoon, he said at a dinner with GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer: "I regard our talks today as a part of the efforts to face up to these problems." Seiters stressed that, according to his information, the people of the two German states suffer most from the dividing line through Europe. The problems resulting from this "should not and cannot be resolved through violence."

Seiters hopes to discuss with Honecker greater travel possibilities and more meetings between the people of the two German states, as well as humanitarian matters, environmental protection, and Berlin policy. The Bonn side also hopes that the existing entry restrictions for former GDR residents will be lifted by East Berlin.

According to the Bonn minister's entourage, Seiters and Fischer also discussed possibilities for improving flights of Lufthansa and the GDR company Interflug. There was talk of the concession of reciprocal rights to fly over territory. Honecker too, in the past, has advocated improvements in air traffic. Talks are currently in progress on the extension of special flights to and from Leipzig [for the fair] as scheduled flights.

Other important topics in East Berlin included questions of securing peace and disarmament. There was also reference to progress in intra-German relations. Seiters, who was accompanied by the head of Bonn's permanent representation, Franz Bertele, stressed that, today, a great deal "which only a few years ago no one would have dared to contemplate," is not only possible but even sometimes self-evident. "It is important to retain these achievements." [passage omitted]

Seiters Describes Talks

LD0507130789 Hamburg DPA in German 1707 GMT 4 Jul 89

[Excerpts] East Berlin (DPA)—Chancellor's Office Minister Rudolf Seiters (Christian Democratic Union) underlined on Tuesday at his meeting with GDR State Council Chairman Erich Honecker Bonn's desire for travel alleviations for GDR citizens. He did not receive positive answers.

Seiters told the press after his evening talk in East Berlin, that he had "made it clear several times" that there must be advances and alleviations from the humanitarian point of view concerning entry refusals for former GDR citizens. Asked about Honecker's response, Seiters said that there had been "no specific assent." Seiters also mentioned GDR citizens' desires to travel by means of the unbureaucratic issuing of day visas and within the framework of contacts between towns. He assumed that "the desires are being looked at."

Seiters, who is in East Berlin for the first time as the chancellor's office minister, described his talks with Honecker and GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer as "objective" and "constructive." In spite of differing standpoints, there was "no sharpness." Honecker underlined his interest in a continuation of the meetings at this level and in advances in the German-German dialogue.

Further topics in East Berlin included, along with disarmament and the securing of peace, the improvement in East-West relations, as expressed by the Gorbachev visit in Bonn. Seiters stated that he had said to Honecker that the Federal Government views the reform process in Eastern Europe with sympathy. These processes cannot and will not "stop at the borders of the GDR," he stressed to the press.

According to Seiters, Honecker pointed out that the number of journeys by GDR citizens to the Federal Republic has increased further: in the first half-year by 9.1 percent to 1,167,000, to West Berlin, and by around 20 percent to over 1.7 million entries from the GDR. [passage omitted]

Honecker mentioned to his guest the concern and outrage in the GDR concerning the election successes of the republicans and concerning the most recent statements from Bonn officials at the Silesian meeting. On the topic of the orders to shoot, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany leader said, in the words of his guest, that shots are only fired at the border in cases of self-defense, an attack, or desertion. [passage omitted]

Regulations Eased for West Berlin Taxis

AU0407120689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Jun 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Announcement to the Senat of Berlin (West)"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On 29 June, the Senat of Berlin (West) was informed about the following: In response to a request by Mayor Walter Momper during his meeting with Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council, on 19 June 1989, drivers of teletaxis and telebuses [as published], who drive seriously disabled persons from Berlin (West) to tourist spots or to citizens in the GDR, will be exempt from the mandatory minimum exchange even when they again enter the GDR to take these persons back to Berlin (West).

Sister City Agreement Concluded With FRG Town

AU0507160489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3 Jul 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Sister City Agreement Between Schmalkalden and Recklinghausen"]

[Text] Schmalkalden (ADN)—On Sunday [2 July], Schmalkalden and Recklinhausen initialed a future sister city agreement. Members of both city councils were present in the Schmalkalden city hall when the necessary documents were signed by Klaus Schubert, mayor of the city in Thuringia Kreis, and Jochen Welt, mayor of the FRG miners' town. In a joint declaration, the local politicians stated that their future activities would focus on active work for peace and good-neighborly relations between the German states and their citizens.

Scientific Cooperation With FRG Discussed

AU0507174289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Jun 89 p 6

[ADN report: "GDR State Secretary Holds Talks in Bonn"]

[Text] Bonn—Klaus Stubenrauch, state secretary in the GDR Ministry for Science and Technology, met with Gebhard Ziller, state secretary in the FRG Ministry for Science and Technology, in Bonn on Wednesday [28 June]. The talk focused on the progress achieved in implementing the joint communique issued on the occasion of the visit to the FRG by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council, in the sphere of science and technology, and on other issues concerning cooperation.

During his stay, Stubenrauch visited various scientific institutions that participate in implementing the agreement in the field of science and technology.

Chilean Communist Party Delegation Visits

Axen Receives Delegation

AU0507143389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3 Jul 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Delegation of the Communist Party of Chile Arrived in the GDR"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—At the invitation of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, a delegation of the Communist Party of Chile headed by Volodia Teitelboim, general secretary of the Central Committee, arrived for a visit to the GDR on Sunday night [2 July]. The guests from Chile were cordially welcomed by Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee.

Honecker, Chilean Leader Confer

LD0307200789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1341 GMT 3 Jul 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—A change from confrontation to detente has begun in the struggle to safeguard peace. Positive steps in international development have been made thanks to the consistent peace policy of the USSR, the GDR, and other socialist states, as well as thanks to the worldwide struggle by the forces of reason and realism. Erich Honecker, Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman and Volodia Teitelboim, Communist Party of Chile Central Committee general secretary, were in agreement in this assessment of the international situation. During talks today in Berlin, they referred to the manifold initiatives and exemplary prior concessions made by the Warsaw Pact states to continue the disarmament process.

Erich Honecker outlined the GDR's disarmament steps. However, the international situation is full of contradictions and requires great vigilance and increased efforts from the peace force, because the most aggressive imperialist forces are trying to stop the disarmament process. The NATO summit conference in Brussels was proof that the militaristic circles of the NATO powers persistently pursue their plans to attain military-strategic superiority, by means of a new arms spiral, and to achieve a destabilization of the socialist countries with massive attempts to interfere and cause diversions. Thus, it is necessary to undertake even greater efforts to implement the socialist countries' extensive disarmament program in all types of weapons, in order to make the process of disarmament and detente irreversible.

On the GDR's internal policy, Erich Honecker stressed that the SED is continuing the further shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR, as an historical process with far-reaching political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes for the benefit of the people.

Erich Honecker assessed his most recent meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow as a further milestone deepening the fraternal relations between the GDR and the USSR. The meeting reaffirmed once more the unanimity of the SED's and the CPSU's viewpoints on the principle questions of international policy and socialist construction. [passage omitted]

Erich Honecker and Volodia Teitelboim agreed to further expand the trusting and fraternal cooperation between the two parties.

SED'S Sieber Receives Portuguese Party Leader

LD0507150489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1930 GMT 4 Jul 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Alvaro Cunhal, general secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party, arrived in the GDR this evening on a short working visit. He was warmly welcomed at Berlin-Schoenefeld airport on behalf of Erich Honecker by Guenter Sieber, member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and director of the International Relations Department.

Dresden's Modrow, SED Delegation Visit Beijing

AU0507160189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3 Jul 89 p 5

[ADN report: "SED Delegation Received in Beijing"]

[Text] Beijing (ADN)—Wu Xueqian, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo and vice premier of the PRC State Council, received a delegation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], headed by Hans Modrow, member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Dresden Bezirk leadership, in Beijing on Saturday [1 July]. Wu Xueqian expressed his conviction that the relations between the parties, governments, and peoples of China and the GDR will be further strengthened and developed. He reported on the latest antisocialist riots in the PRC and the efforts of the party and state leadership to speedily normalize the situation, to make up for the economic losses, to strengthen unity, and to further stabilize the situation in the country. On behalf of the party and state leadership, he thanked the SED and all the GDR people for their solidarity with the Chinese people and the CPC in this difficult period. Hans Modrow reported on the SED's preparations for the 12th Party Congress and the SED's policy which aims to further strengthen socialism and to benefit the people.

Honecker Greets PAIGC Leader on Reelection

AU0407144389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Jun 89 p 8

[ND report: "Congratulations on Election of Joao Bernardo Vieira"]

[Text] East Berlin—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council, conveyed cordial congratulations to Division General Joao Bernardo Vieira, general secretary of the African Independence Party of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC), on his reelection as chairman of the State Council of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, and wished him much success in carrying out his responsible activity.

Goetting Meets Zairian Parliamentary Official

AU0307165189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Jun 89 p 2

[ADN report: "African Official Received"]

[Text] Berlin—Gerald Goetting, GDR State Council deputy chairman and People's Chamber vice president, received Kalume Mwana Kahambwe, president of the legislative assembly of Zaire, for friendly talks in Berlin on Wednesday [28 June]. President Kalume heads his country's delegation to the meeting of the International Liaison Office for Nuclear-Free Zones. He conveyed cordial greetings from Marshal Mobutu Sese Seko, president and founder of the People's Revolutionary Movement and president of the Republic of Zaire, to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council. President Kalume expressed his country's appreciation for the peace policy of the GDR and its highest representative.

The partners in the talk stressed the importance of the parliamentarians' work to ensure peace and for disarmament, including the setting up of nuclear-free zones, and advocated the further shaping of bilateral relations. The ambassador of the Republic of Zaire to the GDR, Ikolo Bolelama W'Okondola, took part in the talks.

Health Cooperation Plan Signed With Yugoslavia

AU0507182689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Jun 89 p 6

[ADN report: "Health Cooperation Plan Signed Between SFRY and GDR"]

[Text] Belgrade—A plan on cooperation between the SFRY and GDR in the sphere of health and medical science for the 1989-91 period was signed in Belgrade on Wednesday [28 June]. The document was signed by Mate Pacak, first deputy secretary for labor, health, veterans' affairs, and social policy of the SFRY, and GDR Deputy Health Minister Rudolf Mueller. The plan provides for even closer cooperation between the two countries. In medical science, the SFRY and GDR will primarily concentrate on the joint handling of research projects in the sphere of unspecific pulmonary diseases, protection against infections, and industrial medicine.

During his stay in the SFRY, the GDR minister was received by Zivko Pregl, deputy chairman of the SFRY Federal Executive Council.

Deputy Justice Minister on Criminal Code Changes

LD3006220789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0945 GMT 30 Jun 89

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Two significant legal regulations will come into force on 1 July in the shape of the law on the competence and procedure of the courts on the examination of administrative decisions, and the law on the alternation and extension of the criminal code.

As Dr Wolfgang Peller, deputy minister of justice, said in an ADN interview, they are an expression of the planned development of the socialist legal order in line with society's state of development, and serve to further increase the legal security and protection of the citizen.

With the extension of the courts' examination of administrative decisions, the citizens now have a greater opportunity than hitherto of claiming the legal protection of the courts in certain administrative matters, if they take the view that decisions of state bodies have encroached upon their rights and interests. It will, above all, be decisions regarding citizens' personal affairs relating to the exercise of legal rights which will be subject to examination by the courts.

As example, Dr Peller mentioned, above all, decisions on the rejection, revocation, withdrawal, or restrictions of licenses, permits, or authorizations (e.g. trading licenses, building permits, decisions on permission to travel), decisions on matters relating to citizens' property (e.g. state liability), administrative decisions on family matters (including care orders, supervisory orders), the laying down of compulsory measures to implement administrative decisions (with regard to illegally erected buildings), and decisions on the registration of citizens with criminal tendencies.

The fifth law on the alteration of the criminal code is intended, Dr Peller went on to say, to protect the citizens even more effectively from crime and to fight new forms of criminal activity more effectively. The new legal stipulations contain, among other things, more protection of socialist property in the economy and the environment. [passage omitted]

Further on Interflug A-310 Airbus Flights

Test Flight Fails

AU0307152089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 29 Jun 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Test of A-310's Range Stopped"]

[Text] Berlin—An Airbus A-310 flight in the direction of Novosibirsk, intended to test the plane's maximum range, had to be stopped on Wednesday [28 June] because of the failure of the navigation system near Vilnius, and the plane had to be flown back to Berlin-Schoenefeld. According to Interflug, the cause of the failure of the navigation system is still unknown.

Berlin-Bangkok Service Opened

AU0507152289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3 Jul 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Berlin-Bangkok Service With Interflug Airbus Opened"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Saturday night [1 July], a new air service between Berlin and Bangkok was opened with the Interflug Airbus A-310-Intercontinental. Under the command of Captain Johannes Wild, the new jumbo jet took off for the Thai capital via Dubai and Singapore from Schoenefeld Airport for its more than 14-hour flight. There will be two flights per week on the 12,700 km route between the GDR capital and Bangkok, which complements Interflug's East Asia connections to Beijing and Hanoi. The necessary air transport agreement between the GDR and Thailand was signed in Bangkok on 10 May.

With the opening of the new service and the first flight of an A 310 to Athens—also on Saturday—the long-distance version of the Airbus will take up the scheduled Interflug service according to schedule.

Kadar Dies 6 Jul Following 'Grave' Illness

LD0607074589 Budapest MTI in English 0741 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 6 (MTI)—The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party informs the party membership, and the entire Hungarian people, with profound sorrow that Comrade Janos Kadar died following a prolonged, grave illness on Thursday July 6 at 9:16 a.m.

Funeral arrangements will be made later.

Foreign Ministry Official on Bush Visit

AU0507165389 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 4 Jul 89 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Hungarian Foreign Ministry State Secretary Laszlo Kovacs by "Sz.H.": "President Bush's Visit to Hungary Could Increase Interest in Country"—date, place not given]

[Text] U.S. President George Bush will come to Hungary in a week. We asked Laszlo Kovacs about the President's agenda and the expectations from this visit.

[Question] How does George Bush's visit to Hungary fit into the domestic and international efforts of the Hungarian policy?

[Kovacs] President Bush's visit organically fits into the Hungarian foreign policy efforts to develop multilateral relations. Obviously, the emerging relations with the United States are particularly important for us, partly because of the weight and development of the U.S. economy and its high technical and scientific standard, and partly because our relations with the United States—the leading power of the capitalist world—will also affect our entire system of relations with the Western world and the way the West will judge Hungary.

The Hungarian-U.S. relations have been steadily developing for some 10 years, and they have stood the test of international fluctuations. Our political dialogue reached the highest level with Karoly Grosz' visit to the United States last year. Our trade turnover exceeds $500 million. We have a broad technical, scientific, and cultural bilateral exchange, and contacts between our citizens—including the young people—are increasing. The President's visit will crown this steadily developing bilateral relations. I must mention here that this is the first time a U.S. President visits Hungary.

According to previous experiences, such a high-level visit could move long unsettled issues out of a deadlock, and it could also increase worldwide interest in the host country. In our case, of course, I regard the interest of business circles and entrepreneurs as particularly important at this time. Finally, another point: Despite the big difference in the size of our two countries, a highest-level Hungarian-U.S. meeting could also become an important building stone of East-West dialogue and confidence building. Thus, this visit also fits well in the Hungarian foreign policy efforts from this viewpoint.

[Question] Concretely speaking, what do we expect from this visit?

[Kovacs] We expect first of all an opportunity to present the reform efforts of the Hungarian leadership. Confidence is the basis of developing relations, and knowledge is the condition of confidence. We hope that this visit will advance the implementation of our old demands and will improve the conditions for widening Hungarian-U.S. economic relations. We hope that, as a result of this visit, we will receive the most-favored-nation trade status in our bilateral trade for several years.

[Question] Will we be satisfied with the proposed 5 years?

[Kovacs] We would prefer an unlimited period, but an extension of this status for 5 years would also represent progress compared with the current practice in which this status is extended annually. I would like to point out that the entire issue will receive a different light if the National Assembly adopts the new immigration and emigration law, because, with this, the so-called Jackson-Vanik amendment of the U.S. trade law would be no longer valid for Hungary, and thus, there will be no formal obstacles preventing the steady implementation of the most-favored-nation status.

It is an important signal for us that we have already received the so-called general preferential customs treatment during the preparations to this visit, a preferential treatment that amounts to a reduction of $4-5 million in customs duties. This will obviously encourage our exports in the future. We hope that the activity of OPIC—the government office in charge of providing guarantees for U.S. investments overseas—will also be extended to Hungary, following Congress approval. The proposal is currently in the Senate. We hope that the President's visit will give the necessary impetus for Senate approval. We would also like to obtain high technology more easily, namely to ease the U.S. export regulations toward Hungary and the limitations of the so-called Cocom list. We would welcome progress during this visit on a problem that has also been unsettled for many years: the issue of Hungarian representation on the West Coast.

We also hope that President Bush's visit will encourage the investment of U.S. working capital. Even before the visit, we agreed on establishing several mixed enterprises, and we hope that the visit will provide an opportunity for the establishment of more mixed enterprises.

Finally, we hope that, as a result of the visit, we will get U.S. support to improve the broader infrastructure of ventures that are becoming increasingly important in

Hungary. I mean here assistance for manager training, the establishment for a venture-developing center, and even assistance to English-language instruction.

It is important that some 300 U.S. journalists, and close to 1,000 foreign journalists will cover the visit. This provides a unique opportunity for the entire world to learn about our situation and efforts. One should also remember that, from Hungary, President Bush will continue to Paris to participate in the summit meeting of the seven most developed capitalist countries. He will obviously inform the other six leaders about his experiences in Hungary.

[Question] Will the support for East European reforms be on the agenda of this summit meeting in Paris?

[Kovacs] I think it is almost impossible not to deal with this issue, if not as a point on the agenda, at least in the framework of the usual informal discussions; not necessarily and specifically about Hungary, but about the development processes in Eastern Europe by all means.

[Question] In fact, what will George Bush's agenda be here? Whom will he meet and who will influence his opinions?

[Kovacs] According to the plans, the President will arrive in Hungary on the afternoon of 11 July. The welcoming ceremony will take place in the Kossuth Square. President Bruno F. Straub will greet the President who will give a short speech. The evening will close with a festive dinner where the President and his entourage will have the opportunity to meet with the leading figures and outstanding representatives of the Hungarian political, social, economic, scientific, and cultural life, including the heads of the new parties and of the various churches.

The official talks with the heads of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] and of the Hungarian Government will begin the next day. President Bush will then meet with young Hungarians in an event organized by the U.S. Embassy. Early in the afternoon, President Bush will give a speech at the Karl Marx University of Economic Sciences in which, as far as we know, he will evaluate the reform processes in Eastern Europe and will present the approach of the U.S. Administration to these reforms. Further meetings will then follow with representatives of the MSZMP and of the new parties, and the day will end with a reception held by the President. The President will leave for Paris on 13 July.

[Question] According to this, will the participation of the opposition in major Hungarian foreign policy events become regular?

[Kovacs] Yes. This also shows the development of our society and our political institutions in the direction of pluralism. Not so long ago, Western politicians who visited Budapest met with the representatives of the still illegal opposition movements only "in secret" and with the disapproval of the Hungarian leadership. A new period then came when, although such meetings were not on the official agenda of the visit, the Hungarian hosts accepted them. Now, these meetings will be part of the official program and the opposition will even be invited to some events. I regard this as being natural because the success of President Bush's visit, as well as the efficiency of the Hungarian foreign policy efforts are in our national interest. If this is so, every political force that feels responsible for the fate of our nation has a place on this agenda.

The press has also informed the public that the Foreign Ministry leadership met recently with the representatives of the new parties. The preparation of the Bush visit was also discussed at this meeting. We agreed to make these meetings regular and constant in the future, in addition to holding such meetings prior to such large events.

[Question] This is promising for all those who worry about Hungary's fate. However, there are people who worry differently. For example, both television and newspaper reports dealt with the critical remarks concerning the Hungarian foreign policy made by former Hungarian Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja. Are there no such critical views in connection with the visit of the U.S. President?

[Kovacs] Of course, there are also critical opinions. Those who criticize the Hungarian foreign policy generally raise two points. One is the fact that, by means of developing relations, the Western countries—and in this case the United States—interfere in Hungary's fate and in our decisions. The other point is that the Hungarian policy "is selling Hungary off" [kiarusitja az orszagot] and the foreign policy is ensuring the conditions for this precisely by means of developing contacts.

As for interference, I do not see any such danger. The responsible Western leaders are aware of the fact that they have no interest in destabilizing Eastern Europe and in disintegrating its system of alliance that represents a part of the international balance of forces. President Bush and his entourage say that they follow the Hungarian events with compassion, but they also stress that we ourselves should make the decisions in these reform processes. The U.S. leaders also stress that, with this visit, they do not try to test the tolerance of the Soviet Union.

As for the "selling out" accusations, it is well known that the Hungarian leadership has for years been trying to avoid taking new credits and has been encouraging the investment of foreign working capital into Hungary. I find it strange when I hear criticism coming from former leaders who participated in the decisions that led to our present indebtedness and who encouraged the establishment of an exaggerated network of foreign representations in the Third World without consideration to the actual size of our country, and who took upon themselves international obligations that exceeded Hungary's capacity to carry burdens. These people are worried about the flow of working capital into Hungary, but they did not worry when they lavishly handed out loans and subsidies with hardly any hope of ever recovering them. I find it strange to see people worry now for the fate of our nation, people who previously denied even the existence of national interests, and who regarded the implementation and representation of national interests as equivalent to giving up internationalism.

[Question] Going back to President Bush's visit, what do we expect? What will be the result of this visit?

[Kovacs] We hope for a successful visit, on three accounts. The U.S. leadership has been following with sympathy the reform processes in Hungary and our measures aimed at developing democracy, pluralism, and a market economy. The majority of Hungarians find it important to develop Hungarian-U.S. relations and also agree in general with the need for further foreign policy opening; and last, but not least, the international situation, including the Soviet-U.S. and generally the East-West relations provide favorable conditions for a successful visit.

Pozsgay Interviewed on Reform of Communism

AU0307143789 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 3 Jul 89 pp 114-119

[Interview with Hungarian State Minister Imre Pozsgay by Klaus Reinhardt and Peter Schille in the Budapest parliament: "We Want to Return to Europe"; date not given]

[Text] DER SPIEGEL: Mr State Minister, on the weekend before last [24-25 June] there was an enormous quarrel about the future course at your party's Central Committee session. Is the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (MSZMP) in danger of breaking up, like the party of the Polish Communists?

Pozsgay: There is no doubt that the discussion involved this issue, even though it did not so much refer to Poland. The Hungarian situation is considerably different from what is going on in Poland. However, I do not want to rule out the fact that the specter of the Polish experiences was hovering over the conference hall.

DER SPIEGEL: What was the quarrel all about?

Pozsgay: It was about the fact that we have to clarify our attitude toward the upcoming elections. The question is whether the MSZMP with its organizational form, with its understanding of itself, and its policy is still sufficiently in line with the people in order to succeed in free elections. Another question is whether we are not overestimating our role and whether the Hungarian people actually need the MSZMP.

DER SPIEGEL: What answers have you reached?

Pozsgay: The party probably did not overestimate itself when the participants in the Central Committee plenum came out in favor of the MSZMP's continuing to actively participate in public life and stated that Hungarian society needs this party.

DER SPIEGEL: But opinions diverged considerably....

Pozsgay: Certainly, but unfortunately I have to say that not all trends within the party were represented. At least, not all trends had representatives who took the floor.

DER SPIEGEL: Who was missing?

Pozsgay: The minority which still sees the building of socialism only in terms of the past dictatorial form kept silent. Thus, the debate only dealt with the question of whether the reforms should be implemented rather cautiously or more radically and boldly. In particular, different views were voiced in analyzing the current situation. There was discussion about whether the current development is a chaotic one, which leads to anarchy and splits the party, or whether it is a completely normal development.

DER SPIEGEL: The dictatorship of the proletariat and democratic development are like fire and water. How can such contradictions coexist within one party?

Pozsgay: One of the main tasks of the party congress in autumn will be to answer this question. For this purpose we need, above all, a very clear-cut program, which eliminates all misunderstandings. A party like the MSZMP, which is so big and so strong, can consist of many different movements. But there is no common denominator of dictatorship and democratic socialism.

DER SPIEGEL: And what speaks against two parties?

Pozsgay: Nothing except the difficult fact that the sectarian, dogmatic forces have problems leaving the party.

DER SPIEGEL: Can they not be expelled?

Pozsgay: No, this would be undemocratic. In addition, they feel at home only in the party organization, because they do not have any contacts with the people.

DER SPIEGEL: What is to happen with the dogmatists?

Pozsgay: They will have to decide. I think that now they can be offered a very honorable way. With the former monopolistic and monolithic structure of power, leaving or being expelled from the party was equal to some sort of excommunication.

DER SPIEGEL: Let us assume that you will get rid of the cement heads sooner or later: What would be achieved by this?

Pozsgay: In this case, the reform party that would develop would have far fewer problems in communicating with the people. The values and the orientation of the MSZMP would then be totally unambiguous. Furthermore, the party can also get rid of burdensome historical ballast in this way.

DER SPIEGEL: For the first time the Central Committee elected a party presidium which, in addition to General Secretary Grosz, comprises the three leading reformers of the country—Nyers, Pozsgay, and Premier Nemeth. Does this not mean that the reformers already have a majority in the Central Committee?

Pozsgay: I would prefer to say that the Central Committee increasingly clearly feels the pressure from the base and the mood in the country. A very tangible movement has started from below. The Central Committee has not been able to escape this effect.

DER SPIEGEL: Thus, most Central Committee members are reluctant reformers?

Pozsgay: Even though they do not yet identify with every single detail of the reform idea, they have realized that this party does not have any other choice. Of course, the Polish example teaches us a lot. There the people have not further legitimated the party.

DER SPIEGEL: And you are not afraid of this example?

Pozsgay: No. This example encourages us to take the initiative. The party must understand that it must not be arrogant. On the other hand—and I also said this at the Central Committee—in the MSZMP there has always been an anti-Stalinist, anti-Rakosi wing, even during the darkest period. This is what has fundamentally distinguished our party from other ruling parties in Eastern Europe. Therefore, it was also able to clarify its relationship with the Social Democrats in Western Europe at an early date.

DER SPIEGEL: Is there not the danger that many people in the party support the reform course out of opportunism, but remain old Stalinists at heart?

Pozsgay: Yes, this danger exists; but I already consider it a victory when opportunists also support reform. In the 30 years during which I have been struggling for reform, I have also learned to be patient and tolerant toward opportunists. The majority does not consist of heroes, therefore we permit people to change.

DER SPIEGEL: Thus, Stalinists can also be reformed?

Pozsgay: This is a complicated question. If some renowned Stalinists can be seen in the reform movement, this naturally impairs the credibility of the reforms. Therefore, I accept the internal change only if it does not happen like events at a wardrobe, where someone simply puts on another coat.

DER SPIEGEL: Your relationship with General Secretary Karoly Grosz is not the best. Recently, Grosz called upon the people "not to overestimate Pozsgay's role." Is this only a rivalry between two influential men or is this also based on a conflict of goals?

Pozsgay: I think that personal matters can be ruled out here. I personally can honestly say that I have never let myself be guided by personal emotions and ambitions. My only ambition has been and is to intensify reforms and to put them at the center of politics. One can have different views on this, and the two of us have always expressed our opinions very frankly.

DER SPIEGEL: We want to make it easier for you: Grosz said that he wants to "return to the Marxist roots" with the reforms. You too?

Pozsgay: The reformers tend to dig up the roots of the gospel. But I say that we have to return to Marx because we have to criticize him; one of the most important lessons I learned from Marx is that one should doubt everything.

DER SPIEGEL: You are considered a great breaker of taboos. American newspapers called you a "Hungarian Gorbachev." It seems more appropriate to us to compare you with his opponent Boris Yeltsin, for whom reforms cannot be fast enough. Do you agree with this?

Pozsgay: First of all, I have to say that both comparisons are very flattering for me. But I think that I am clearly different from both, perhaps only concerning my stature....

DER SPIEGEL: Yeltsin has about the same weight.

Pozsgay: I meant my psychological stature. We are different because I am dealing with different problems. There are enormous differences between the state with the largest area in the world, which, in addition, is a multination state, and our national state with only 10 million citizens. Therefore, small Hungary has a freer hand than the big Soviet Union, at least concerning initiatives.

DER SPIEGEL: At least recently.

Pozsgay: Yes, in particular now, when a Soviet Union that is ready for reforms is standing behind us. If one compares the Soviet Union with a big transatlantic steamer, Hungary is rather the pilot cutter.

DER SPIEGEL: This is a very ambitious statement. The pilot cutter always determines the course in dangerous waters.

Pozsgay: Yes, perhaps we are a bit ahead of the others in some experiences. We are gaining our experiences with the multiparty system, with the advantages of a market economy in a socialist social system, and with competition on the international market. Perhaps this is also important for others.

DER SPIEGEL: Almost all leading reformers in the East were in very high office at a time when a totally different policy, one that was inimical to reforms, was on the agenda. Why did these comrades not make their demands earlier?

Pozsgay: I think this depends on the individual person. I myself raised these demands years ago. My most important proof of this is that I wrote a scientific thesis, a dissertation, in 1968. I defended this dissertation in 1969. The defense was successful, but this dissertation was immediately locked away under seven seals by the Academy of Sciences. In this thesis I actually broached all the basic issues with which the reformers are dealing today.

DER SPIEGEL: And when will the thesis be published?

Pozsgay: I do not want to publish it any longer. It is obsolete, too primitive among today's conditions. But I will write it again. Among other things, this thesis says that without changes in the system of the political institutions there cannot be an economic reform, without democracy, and without citizens that are able to determine their lives themselves there cannot be any future.

DER SPIEGEL: Another example from your life: This January you set the switches for the rehabilitation of Imre Nagy and his followers with the statement that the bloody events of October 1956 were a "popular uprising" and not a "counterrevolution." However, 8 years ago, as education minister you were responsible for the fact that the wrong historical description, namely the one of the counterrevolution, was contained in all Hungarian school books. How can this be explained?

Pozsgay: Very simply: At that time I, too, accepted the thesis that it was a counterrevolution. Frankly, nobody even had the idea of reexamining this issue at that time. But I have to correct one thing here: I did not approve any textbooks, any history books.

DER SPIEGEL: There were no new ones?

Pozsgay: I only took over the Education Ministry in summer 1980. We did not have time for school books. For more than half a year we were busy uniting three former culture and education ministries. At that time I examined the entire situation in the education sector. On the basis of this analysis, I revealed the backlogs of the entire infrastructure in the school sector and in December 1981 I presented these results at a Central Committee plenum. As a result, I was very quickly thanked for my work and replaced by someone else.

DER SPIEGEL: Let us come to today's Imre Pozsgay. You said that a "change of model" is necessary. Now, in Hungary the Stalinist model failed, and the Kadar model did not end particularly gloriously. Why should the Hungarians now believe that the Pozsgay model is going to work?

Pozsgay: I very much hope that this will not be remembered by the public as my model, but as the result of a joint intellectual effort. Because I want to win over as many people as possible—a broad mass—to participate in these changes in Hungary. I do not think much of schoolmasterishness, and I do not consider politics a pedagogical task.

DER SPIEGEL: After all the bad experiences it would be understandable if the Hungarians were to continue to be suspicious.

Pozsgay: It will certainly be very difficult to inspire trust. The way of exercising power that was practiced in the past gave every reason for this disappointment.

DER SPIEGEL: Would it not save strength and time to completely forego the compromised socialism?

Pozsgay: One has to break with the compromising facts and socialism has to arise from this in a renewed form. I am a great follower and advocate of European culture and of Hungary's return to Europe. For us this is a program to establish contact again.

DER SPIEGEL: Farewell to Asia, a return to Europe?

Pozsgay: Yes, in this connection in particular I cannot conceive of a European culture since the 19th century without the idea of socialism.

DER SPIEGEL: But the ideas of Marx and Engels brought the people terror and oppression, hunger and mismanagement.

Pozsgay: Socialism failed because it was presented in practice as the sole and only saving truth. And then it was presented as the only possible goal. If it is possible to free socialism from these attributes it can be human again.

DER SPIEGEL: How do you want to make sure that your party does not sink at the parliamentary elections next year?

Pozsgay: We will put up candidates according to an election law, which we want to work out and pass in agreement with the opposition. We will present a new program to the voters, and we will appeal to the people's sober reason; we will make it clear to them that the party has also created values, and not only destroyed them.

DER SPIEGEL: Do you believe that this is enough?

Pozsgay: We must also be able to convince the people that this party still has the greatest experience and also the intellectual capacity to lead the country out of the difficulties. Under the pressing material constraints of the election campaign I might be able to tell you even more clever things, but at the moment I can think of only such arguments.

DER SPIEGEL: There will be no certain mandates, no quota regulation, like in Poland?

Pozsgay: No, never.

DER SPIEGEL: You yourself said that you can very well imagine your party in the government alliance with other parties. With the Social Democrats, the Democratic Forum, or with whom?

Pozsgay: I can certainly imagine a coalition. I even think that the next government will be a coalition government, because it is likely that no single party will achieve the absolute majority. With whom we then cooperate will depend on the election results.

DER SPIEGEL: Can you also imagine going into opposition?

Pozsgay: Yes, certainly. We have to do this if we take free elections seriously. On the other hand, in history there is no example of a party that is so stupid as to expect an election defeat from the outset.

DER SPIEGEL: Which partner would you prefer?

Pozsgay: One of the classical party formations. I consider the Social Democratic Party of Hungary and the Democratic Forum to be the partners that are most likely to be involved. The Free Democrats Alliance—SzDSz—is a very serious intellectual force. But I think that, in particular because of its intellectual penchant for criticism, this organization will not find a basis among the masses and will always play the role of a classical opposition.

DER SPIEGEL: The alliance question is made even more difficult by the political splits within your party. You have founded a grassroots association called "Movement for a Democratic Hungary." Your comrade at the top, Nyers, leads the "New March Front." What kind of groups are these?

Pozsgay: First and foremost, they are to prove the party's pluralism. The participants in this movement suport the common denominator of the MSZMP. On the other hand, they also want to demonstrate that this party is deeply linked with the people and is able to cooperate with people with a different ideology and different political views.

DER SPIEGEL: At the negotiations with the oppostion there was also a quarrel about the new office of the Hungarian state president. Contrary to the Soviet Union, this state president must not have a party office. Will you run for president, nevertheless?

Pozsgay: Yes. When the MSZMP Central Committee proposed me for this office I agreed.

DER SPIEGEL: You are not fraid that you will be put on a side-track?

Pozsgay: No. My opportunities to influence society will not be reduced by this.

DER SPIEGEL: After the rehabilitation of Premier Nagy who was executed, and of his murdered fellow-fighters, your neighbors Romania and the CSSR massively attacked the Hungarian leadership as "fascists" and "revisionists." Why this outrage?

Pozsgay: Romania's reaction can no longer be measured with the yardsticks of European civilization. There must be other motives behind this, which can only be psychological ones, because such an interpretation of these events is practically incomprehensible to us.

DER SPIEGEL: The already tense relations with Romania have been further strained by the construction of a new Iron Curtain. More than 400 km of barbed wire and death strips along the Romanian-Hungarian border—what can you do against this?

Pozsgay: Of course, we will not build a fence in return. It is very much to be regretted that relations between two neighboring countries that depend on each other can take such forms at the end of the 20th century.

DER SPIEGEL: Regardless of the significance of the political changes in Hungary, there remain the economic problems—exactly like in the Soviet Union. Why has your economic development been stagnating for more than 10 years?

Pozsgay: Because the past economic model abolished and suffocated any human initiative. Politics replaced economy. Politics replaced everything. Politics absorbed all the functions of life.

DER SPIEGEL: But Hungary's economic program comes from your best friend, Rezso Nyers.

Pozsgay: No. This is the model which was worked out against Nyers, because Nyers was frozen out in 1973-74.

DER SPIEGEL: That was a long time ago.

Pozsgay: Precisely. Since then we have been struggling along with this useless model. The real economy has been replaced by a quasi-economy, with a quasi-market and quasi-money. This means that everything has been subjected to bureaucratic coordination. The government itself worked like an administrative council, not like a government. The result was that any motivation of the people was killed off.

DER SPIEGEL: How do you want to change this?

Pozsgay: It caused this crisis, which is the best evidence of the fact that things have to be changed. One cannot compare the situation in Hungary with the transition from dictatorship to democracy in Spain, Greece, or Portugal. There, there was always a real economy at the basis. It was only necessary to abolish the political dictatorship.

DER SPIEGEL: Thus, new minds and a new government are not sufficient to make Hungarian workers more industrious?

Pozsgay: No. This is a very, very slow process. But our workers are so capable that they can be motivated. Because in the so-called second economy, in the private economy, there has always been growth, despite all obstacles. The worker who is idle in state-owned enterprises works until he drops at home, or in his second job.

DER SPIEGEL: Because the state-owned enterprises pay the workers so badly that they cannot live without a second job.

Pozsgay: This is the problem. Bureaucratic equalization abolished any motivation.

DER SPIEGEL: Where do you want to get the means to pay the workers better?

Pozsgay: This will certainly not be possible with purely Hungarian resources. We have very little capital and, unfortunately, we also have enormous debts.

DER SPIEGEL: Are you expecting financial aid from the West?

Pozsgay: We need foreign capital for two reasons: First, in the form of investments and joint ventures, which would also facilitate the transfer of technology to Hungary. Second, we are hoping for loans, but not to pay back our debts, but to grant loans to a new stratum of small private entrepreneurs so that they can establish their own medium-sized enterprises.

DER SPIEGEL: What arguments do you want to use to bring Western investors to Hungary?

Pozsgay: Just the argument that they can invest their money here in a profitable way. We have well-trained workers. Furthermore, we offer state guarantees: First, the investors may withdraw their capital at any time, if they consider it necessary, and second, they may export their profit in freely convertible currency.

DER SPIEGEL: The Hungarians' patience has its limits; the world experienced this in 1956. By when, do you think, will the Hungarian reformers have to present tangible success so that the people remain calm?

Pozsgay: By 1991-92. Even though at that time the burden from servicing our debts will be largest, by then we should have emerged from today's restrictive policy and should have revitalized the economy. By then the structural change in industry also has to be concluded. Otherwise Hungary will become an industrial museum.

DER SPIEGEL: If these ambitious plans do not work, what will happen to Imre Pozsgay?

Pozsgay: What will happen to me is not that important. One thing is certain: If they do not work, the country will be in a dangerous situation. And, actually, Europe cannot afford another Hungarian disaster.

DER SPIEGEL: Mr State Minister, thank you for this interview.

Pozsgay Speaks on National Minority Policy

LD0307224889 Budapest MTI in English
1903 GMT 3 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 3 (MTI)—'The Hungarians and the minorities are alike creators of this nation. We wish to carry out a national and minority policy which alike accords to the requirements of human rights and collective human rights. The continuation of this policy cannot be the object of international bargaining. In other words, we do not wish reciprocality. In this respect, Hungarian policy will be committed to its own people on a constitutional basis, and much more so on the basis of the new constitution, irrespective of the proportion that Hungarians, Germans, Serbians, Croats, Slovenes, Slovaks, Romanians and other minorities represent among our people', stressed, among other things, Imre Pozsgay, member of the Presidium of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and minister of state, on Monday in Szekszard, at the National Homeland Studies Academy. The central theme of the academy this year is the situation and relation between the peoples living in the Carpathian basin.

With respect to the Hungarians living in the world, Mr Pozsgay said:

'I can report on a major turn. Hungary, after having taken the first steps towards constitutional statehood, is now of the view that the political reasons which caused a considerable part of Hungarians living abroad to be regarded for decades as emigrants, no longer exist. There is no such distinction as political emigrant, but there is still a great deal to be done in Hungary. For if we have reached this conclusion, and accept all its consequences, then the Helsinki agreement of 1975 has been fulfilled from the Hungarian part. For no reservations can remain with respect to human rights towards Hungary which to date has caused uncertainty in the building of relations between the peoples, and caused uncertainty also in the affair of the emigration and the changing of places of residence. A law on emigration is shortly to be passed. What I hold as most important is, eliminating the notion of political emigration, there will be one single Hungarian national publicity for all Hungarians, whether they live in Ohio, Sydney or Bucharest', Mr Pozsgay said.

Defense Minister on Service Time, Strategy

AU0507112489 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 28 Jun 89 p 4

[Unattributed interview with Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati: "Comrade-in-Arms Karpati on Form of Address, Service Time, Oath, and Main Strategic Directions"—date, place not given]

[Text] [Question] The National Assembly has set the goal of modifying the defense law. According to the proposals, a new form of address will be used in the army: comrade-in-arms [bajtars] instead of comrade [elvtars]. This is more expressive and more real too. What is your opinion?

[Karpati] The word "comrade" has a content within a movement of people who believe in identical principles. Now, there will be several parties in Hungary. It would be quite strange to continue to address each other in the Army with the word "comrade." Previously, there were also many young conscripts in the Army who did not believe in the same principles as I do, for example, and nevertheless, they had to accept this way of addressing each other. The new term, comrade-in-arms, is not new in the Hungarian Army; the soldiers and policemen used it for years after 1945. Then the form was changed. I think that we also should consider the comprehensive changes currently under way in our society.

[Question] The proposal on modification of the defense law which was submitted to the National Assembly deputies for debate divides active service into armed and civilian military services. There has been a debate going on for months now on the duration of these services. Finally, what will you submit to the parliament?

[Karpati] In harmony with the defense and the youth committees, the government proposes a 30-month civilian military service. There would be no change in the current 18-month armed service. However, as is well known, men can be called in for an additional 18-month reserve duty up to the age of 55. Now we propose that, if the National Assembly wants 30 months of civilian duty, it should also reduce the duration of reserve duty to 12 months. Thus, the duration of both services would be 30 months. Of course, the Army will not count as reserves those who serve a 30-month civilian service.

[Question] According to the draft bill, the text of the military oath will also change. Who has prepared it?

[Karpati] Preparing for this legislation modification, I came to the following conclusion: As armed service in defense of the homeland is a noble act, it is justified to also enact the text of the military oath into law by means of the National Assembly. We called upon the Association of Hungarian Writers to help us in formulating this oath. It gave me great pleasure to see the warm response of the association. I am particularly happy to have had Professor Lajos Lorincze's assistance, and thus, I think we formulated the military oath in accordance with the most beautiful and most grammatical Hungarian language usage.

[Question] Allow me a small deviation. The remarks made abroad by a deputy department head of the Central Committee, remarks on the re-evaluation of the Hungarian military doctrine in view of the danger emanating from the southeastern direction, has caused a stir in recent weeks. What is your opinion about this?

[Karpati] I was shocked when I learned about these remarks. I did not want to believe it. However, I obtained an issue of the Italian newspaper which quotes the Hungarian official, Csaba Tabajdi. He is still on vacation abroad, and we do not yet know his opinion, but I think that the newspaper in question exercised responsibility in publishing these remarks, and the text is genuine. However, I am not convinced that the remarks in question were given exactly as they appear in the newspaper. In any case, the text shows a lack of information and is also completely unfounded. Unfortunately, it is also lends itself to causing disturbances within an alliance system.

[Question] The Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee is due to meet in Bucharest next week. As far as I know, you will also participate in this meeting. Do you think that all these things could be discussed there?

[Karpati] I hope that these newspaper remarks will not gain such importance and will not play any role. Together with the premier, we made it clear that there is a considerable lack of information and also irresponsibility behind these remarks. I do hope, therefore, that these remarks will not cause any disturbance at the Warsaw Pact meeting.

[Question] An official of the General Staff announced on 23 June that no such re-evaluation was currently under way in the Army. Will you also confirm this?

[Karpati] Yes. No such thing can even be seriously considered today. We also feel the same as everyone else here about the news on the Hungarians living there; just like everyone who is concerned about the fate of national minorities. In this respect, we are following with concern everything that happens in our southeastern neighbor country. At the same time, we worry about the bilateral relations, all the more so because we belong to the same alliance system. It is our basic interest to ease the tension, and not increase it. Nobody would benefit from an increasing crisis between the two countries.

FIDESZ Speaker Comments on Political Views

AU3006132589 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 26 Jun 89 p 4

[Interview with Viktor Orban, member of the FIDESZ committee, by Attila Csarnai: "His Goal Is Bourgeois Democracy—Interview With Viktor Orban on His Political Aims and the Reaction to His Speech in Heroes Square"—date, place not given]

[Excerpts] Viktor Orban's name has become known not only in Hungary but also abroad since his speech delivered in Heroes Square in Budapest [at Imre Nagy's funeral]. His words created a great stir: Many people reacted with aversion and indignation, and others showed agreement.

Viktor Orban is 26 years old and the father of a 5-month-old daughter. He graduated from the Faculty of Political Sciences of the Lorant Eotvos Science University in 1987. At present, he is chief editor of the theoretical quarterly journal SZAZADVEG [End of Century] and also participates in a research group that studies the activity of the Polish Solidarity.

[Csarnai] Did you count on such a reaction to your speech?

[Orban] I counted on such a reaction domestically, but not abroad. I knew that many people would not like what I had to say. However, I do not understand the indignation of some people. My speech had nothing special in it.

[Csarnai] In other words, you would give the same speech today?

[Orban] Exactly the same, word for word.

[Csarnai] Are you so sure of yourself?

[Orban] I spent a lot of time writing this speech, and many people reviewed the text and we rewrote words and entire sentences in it. The Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] agreed with the speech.

[Csarnai] However, one could not say that the speech was particularly diplomatic in its tone, especially a speech on the occasion of a funeral.

[Orban] I do not agree with this. I had to decide whether to write a so-called diplomatic or a true speech. The two together did not work. I had to choose, and I wanted to speak honestly, not ambiguously. After all, Imre Nagy did not die of old age. [passage omitted]

[Csarnai] What do you say about the view that, in some parts, your speech reflected a certain anticommunist feeling?

[Orban] This is an old label. I do not regard this speech as anticommunist, and I also tried to avoid looking like an anticommunist.

[Csarnai] In any case, you did not consider the Communists as understanding either....

[Orban] I am not a communist. I consider them to be my opponents, and naturally, I would like to see them lose in the free elections. Of course, it is also part of the rules of the game that they also keep saying their own views, and attack us. I do not see anything special in this.

[Csarnai] Why did you have to express this precisely in Heroes Square?

[Orban] Because precisely today, one has to remind the people of those who quelled the revolution and freedom fight of 1956 and of the methods they used, as well as of the ideas that Imre Nagy and his associates stood for in those days.

[Csarnai] However, today there are also many Communists who believe in those ideas.

[Orban] That is true. However, every Communist is the same in one respect: For more than 30 years, they tolerated the label of traitors being given to Imre Nagy and his associates, and they signed this label with their names.

[Csarnai] When all is said and done, whom do you regard as Communist, and whom do you regard as responsible?

[Orban] It is now clear to me that many people among the members of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] do not believe in the Communist ideology. In addition, there is a difference between the simple party members and those who fulfill various functions in the apparatus. I regard as responsible primarily those who owe their livelihood to the MSZMP. [passage omitted]

[Csarnai] Do you not believe in the efforts of the MSZMP?

[Orban] I do not believe in this unconditionally. They should prove that they really implement everything they say.

[Csarnai] Your speech was also accused of being anti-Soviet in its tone. What is your opinion about this?

[Orban] I do not consider myself to be anti-Soviet. I believe in national independence and I want the Soviet troops to leave Hungary, not by force, but by peaceful negotiations.

[Csarnai] This also has an international aspect.

[Orban] I regard the Soviet troops as occupiers who forced us into the Warsaw Pact. There were Soviet troops in Austria too after the war, but then, together with other troops, they left the country, and Austria became neutral. [passage omitted]

[Csarnai] What is your political belief?

[Orban] Both the FIDESZ and myself set the goal of creating a European bourgeois democracy in Hungary. We want market and private property in the economy, and free elections in politics, with a multiparty parliament based on free elections. In addition, we are for respect for personal and human rights. We reject the priority of state property, the party as a vanguard, dictatorship, and the fact that the state has priority over the individual. A bourgeois democracy is more valuable to me because it has proven to be more efficient and more humane. [passage omitted]

Szeged Party Committee Elects New Officials

LD3006063189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] New leaders have been elected at the head of the Szeged Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Committee to replace the first secretary and two other secretaries who resigned. Zsuzsa Ladanyi reports.

[Ladanyi] the Szeged party committee today decided that until the next town party conference, which can be convened presumably in around 3 months, a three-member temporary executive presidium will carry out the tasks of the first secretary and the secretaries. Mihaly Revesz, the leader of the party's political training institute, was elected as chairman of the presidium.

A new wave of resignations has reached the Szeged party committee. At today's meeting, it was announced that three party committee members had asked to be relieved of their posts—one of them is also leaving the party.

The Szeged party Reform Circle protests the fact that Csaba Tabajdi, deputy director of the Central Committee Foreign Affairs Committee, has been suspended from his job and disciplnary proceedings are being started against him. According to the Szeged reform communists, the reasons for the measure which was made public are insufficient and unacceptable, thus they demand their withdrawal. In their opinion, the measure evokes the old methods and infers that in the central apparatus they have not been able to get rid of the conditioning of the earlier decades, which caused much moral and political damage. The Szeged Reform Circle said that those times when the currents within the party [word indistinct] to each other with disciplinary proceedings are past.

East-West Civil Rights Discussion Held

AU0207190489 Budapest MTI in English 1823 GMT 2 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 2 (MTI)—Activists of Belgian, British, Czechoslovak, American, French, Dutch, Canadian, Hungarian, FRG and Austrian independent organizations held discussions over the weekend in Budapest, in the organization of the Hungarian Circle of the Network for East and West Dialogue.

Participants were of the view: This is the first realistic opportunity since the Second World War to eliminate the dividedness of Europe. This is underlined by the many promising processes taking place, including the opening of further disarmament talks, or the democratization process in progress in certain countries of East and central Europe. However, they noted as factors that give rise to anxiety the economic dividedness threatening Europe, and the differing pace of democratization.

Discussions were held on the document entitled Civil Union for Peace and Democracy, in which the Czechoslovak civil rights movement Charter'77 proposes to set up an alternative European parliament. According to the participants, organization to set up the parliament requires a longer time, however, the issue should be kept on the agenda.

Participants protested in a statement over the fact that two activists of the Charter'77 movement were prevented from attending the Budapest meeting as their passports were withdrawn. Participants also demanded the immediate freeing of political prisoners in Czechoslovakia.

Statistics on Unemployment Benefits Published

AU3006150289 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 27 Jun 89 p 6

[MTI report: "More Than 3,000 People Asked for Unemployment Benefits"]

[Text] According to the latest information of the Labor Market Center, by the end of April, more than 3,200 people used the unemployment benefits introduced at the beginning of this year. Since the introduction of the unemployment benefit system, the labor exchange officials have paid out 23 million forints in gross benefits for 182,000 unemployed days. The average time spent on unemployment benefit was 57 days, and the average amount of unemployment benefit per capita stood at 7,291 forints in this period, which amounts to 129 forint per unemployed day.

New Business Magazine Set for Publication

LD3006232989 Budapest MTI in English
1132 GMT 30 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 30 (MTI)—A new international foreign economy advertising magazine "BUSINESS CONTACT" is to be published January 1990, as a successor of the Soviet export magazine, it was announced at a press conference held in Budapest, on Thursday. The magazine, which will contain advertisements, aims to provide concise information to traders and manufacturers on new products, on the economic situation of various countries and new trading possibilities, with a view to promoting East-West trade.

Commercial Television Station To Air 1 Jul

LD0107123189 Budapest MTI in English
1149 GMT 30 Jun 89

[Text] Budapest, June 30, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—Balaton Channel TV-S, the first commercial television station in Hungary, is to start broadcasting this Saturday, July 1.

The channel counts on 450,000-500,000 potential viewers a day, and is to transmit programmes from Siofok Culture Centre for 72 days during the summer period. Transmission times are from 8 to 10 am and 8 pm to midnight (local time).

Light entertainment programmes in Hungarian and German will be broadcast primarily to the area near the southern shore of Lake Balaton (western Hungary).

The limited company will be run mainly by Siofok Television, set up by Siofok Town Council, and by Filmpremier, a small cooperative.

In its morning and evening news programmes, business information and the rate of exchange for currency will also be transmitted, and since Balaton Channel TV-S is self-financing, company ads will also appear on the screen.

Promotional films for companies will also be included in the programme.

U.S. Official Comments on Bush Visit, Aid

AU0507151689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Jun 89 p 6

["Extensive excerpts" of an interview with an unnamed "high-ranking U.S. Administration official" by Zygmunt Broniarek in Washington on 20 June: "A New Epoch in Poland's Politics"]

[Text] In light of President Bush's planned visit to Poland (9-11 July), Roman Popadiak, White House deputy press secretary, arranged an interview for me with a high-ranking administration official (this is the customary way of describing people who do not want to be quoted by name for various reasons). Robert Hall, Popadiak's deputy, was present at the conversation, which took place on Tuesday, 20 June, at 1400 hours (2000 hours, Warsaw time). These are extensive excerpts from the conversation.

[Broniarek] What can we expect following President Bush's visit to Poland?

[Answer] The first thing I would say is that we are still at the planning stage. We are following the events in Poland with great interest, but in view of the recent NATO summit, we have not had an opportunity to fully focus our attention on the actual substance of the President's trips to Poland and Hungary. Our decisions are still of a preliminary kind, and nothing is hard and fast yet. The President provided the fullest exposition of our position in Hamtramck. As I said, our reaction to the "roundtable" and to the results of the elections was one of great interest, even admiration. We are particularly struck by the rapid pace at which events have been occurring in Poland with respect to liberalization. As we see it, it is now a question of continuing with the reforms by way of cooperation with "Solidarity." We realize how difficult it is to change from one system to another and how difficult it is to implement political and economic reforms simultaneously. We have to approach our short-term attitude to the reforms very carefully, because we want to work out a long-term approach to them.

[Broniarek] The President's speech was received well in Poland, with one possible exception. That is to say, the question that is being asked is: What concrete assistance can Poland expect from the United States?

[Answer] The reform issue itself is the Poles' affair. It is your "job" [English word used]. We are committed to systematic aid in the long-term. Everything that we will do will be geared toward making a contribution to your structural reforms. I would like to return to Hamtramck. As you know, the President's speech contained a certain element of "conditionality." [English word provided]. This "conditionality" is not a reflection of a lack of faith on our part in the possibility of realizing your reforms. We want to see reforms in your country. They are developing. It is a question of creating a climate in which the reforms would be able to develop further. This applies to the Overseas Private Investment Corporation and Generalized System of Preferences (import tariff concessions) issues.

[Broniarek] One idea that has been mooted in Washington is the setting up of a joint American, Western European, and Japanese consortium that would provide Poland and Hungary with extraordinary urgent aid in the short-term sense, that is to say, quickly. Would it be right to assume that administration thinking is more or less developing along such lines?

[Answer] It is necessary to coordinate Western efforts to a certain extent. The President said in Hamtramck that what the United States is doing with respect to Poland is not a unilateral effort. Besides, we are not even Poland's largest creditor. We have also taken account of Western Europe's attitude toward our efforts and the certain amount of criticism that has been directed at us from Western Europe. So, we need some degree of coordination. However, I do not know what the "vehicle" [English word provided] for this coordination is going to be.

[Broniarek] In connection with this, there is great interest in Poland in whether the attitude of the West as a whole toward Eastern European affairs will be discussed as a separate point at the "Paris economic summit"?

[Answer] I do not know whether it is going to be a separate item on the agenda of the economic summit, because the agenda is still being decided on. However, there is no doubt that the issue that you raised will be discussed. After all, President Bush will be going to Paris after visiting Poland and Hungary, President Mitterrand was recently in Poland, Mrs Thatcher has received General Jaruzelski, so there is something like a Western European, a general Western "touchdown" [English word used] with respect to Eastern Europe (the need to make a decision). One thing we do not want to do is to interfere in the international financial institutions that are working out programs with Poland. However, I do not exclude the possibility that other mechanisms will be established for economic activities in relation to Eastern Europe.

[Broniarek] It is widely believed in Poland that the United States has a lot of influence with these institutions and that it is not using this influence enough to speed up matters.

[Answer] We no longer have the influence that we once had. These are not the fifties. In those days we had a much stronger voice. Nowadays those institutions have a life of their own. We want the IMF, which has a key role in this respect, to work out a systematic, effective program for the introduction and development of economic reforms in Poland, a program that will pertain to the country's fundamental economic structures.

[Broniarek] As a high-ranking administration official who is also an expert on Polish affairs, what is your personal assessment of the situation in Poland?

[Answer] I have high hopes concerning the way in which the situation in Poland will develop. I base these hopes on the fact that at this point the path that Poland has embarked on does not resemble any of the other paths that Poland has taken since the end of World War II. It does not resemble 1956, or 1970, or 1976, or 1980. What is happening in Poland today represents a new political epoch in Poland. The key element is that the government accepts that an opposition can be loyal, that one can be a member of the opposition and a Pole at the same time. The road to full democracy is difficult in any country. It was also difficult in the case of our country. It is not easy to bring about national reconciliation. I base my hopes for Poland on the fact that political parties will be established that will be able to compete with one another, that people will be able to organize themselves in associations, that the press will be free from interference, and that the economy will be based on the market. It is my deep belief that a market economy allows man's full potential to be released.

[Broniarek] Poland has its share of extremists, on both sides. After all, there were people on the "Solidarity" side who called for a boycott of the elections. Can one wholeheartedly say that the Bush administration is opposed to extremism?

[Answer] The President said in Hamtramck that the United States supports the "roundtable" and supports the elections if they are fair. How the elections turn out and the results that they produce are the Poles' affair. However, we support the "roundtable" process and the election process.

[Broniarek] Thank you.

Bush Visit Postpones Presidential Elections

AU0507173889 Paris AFP in English
1719 GMT 5 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 5 (AFP)—The election of a Polish president by Parliament has been postponed until after U.S. President George Bush's visit, a spokesman for MPs from the ruling party said here Wednesday. Mr Bush begins a three-day visit on Sunday. Marian Orzechowski, chairman of the Club of Polish United Workers Party (POUP) MPs did not specify when the election would be held, but it is likely to take place before July 22.

Meanwhile Polish leader General Wojciech Jaruzelski is still undecided about whether to change his decision not to stand for the presidency, Mr Orzechowski said. Gen Jaruzelski, who imposed martial law in 1981, surprised both the party and opposition when he announced Friday he would not run, citing lack of popular support. He agreed to reconsider after the Central Committee urged him to stand.

Orzechowski Discusses Postponement of Elections

LD0507204589 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1730 GMT 5 Jul 89

[Text] After the conclusion of the Sejm debates, there was a press conference of the parliamentary Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] headquarters.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Professor Marian Orzechowski, head of the parliamentary PZPR, has met journalists for the first time. Professor, this has been quite sensational news today. We shall only know who the president of the Republic is after President Bush's visit. You said that. Why so late?

[Orzechowski] That is right. Today the parliamentary PZPR held a very extensive discussion on this subject and the result was very definite: All deputies with the exception of one came out in favor of General Jaruzelski as the candidate. In this way a discussion has been opened to include other parliamentary groups, but this requires some time. Tomorrow General Jaruzelski and Minister Kiszczak, and other persons who are leading our state and party, are leaving for a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee. This will be followed by President Bush's visit. There is simply no time.

[Correspondent] In that case, when will we know who the president of the Republic is?

[Orzechowski] As soon as possible after President George Bush's visit, and as soon as the necessary decisions have been made in this respect.

[Correspondent] Thank you very much. [end recording]

We also heard at the conference that President George Bush during his visit to Poland will deliver a speech at a meeting of the Sejm and Senate on Monday 10 July. [end recording]

PAP Statement Confirms Jaruzelski's Position

LD0507224889 Warsaw PAP in English
2057 GMT 5 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 5—In connection with information of the chairman of the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] floor group about its stance on Wojciech Jaruzelski's candidacy for the post of the Polish president, the Polish press agency PAP was authorized to state that no new facts or circumstances have taken place that could cause a change in Wojciech Jaruzelski's stand on this issue.

Further Reportage on 10th Sejm Session

Inaugural Session Continues

LD0507230189 Warsaw PAP in English
1830 GMT 5 Jul 89

[Excerpts] Warsaw, July 5—The Sejm of the 10th term today ended its first, inaugurational meeting which began on Tuesday and was continued on Wednesday afternoon.

Also today the Sejm, having heard a report of its special commission, stated that the election of deputies to the Sejm was valid and passed two last decrees of the Council of State. A tribunal of state was elected.

The Sejm resumed debates today with a short delay caused by preparations of Sejm reports based on data coming from deputy floor groups.

Deputy Stefan Myszkiewicz-Niesiolowski (Citizen's Club) took the oath as he did not do that on Tuesday.

The speaker told the chamber that a draft government law on increasing remunerations for work in 1989 in connection with changes of retail prices of consumber goods and services has been tabled to the Sejm. The Sejm Presidium will forward this draft for a first reading at one of the forthcoming meetings of the chamber.

Report of Special Commission

Deputy Janusz Trzcinski (PUWP) [Polish United Workers Party] presented a report of the special commission whose task is to review important issues of the Sejm's operation. The commission reviewed a report of the State Electoral Commission from the elections to the Sejm and two decrees of the Council of State addressed to it for opinion-giving: Of June 12 on an amendment of the electoral law to the Sejm and of July 1 on an amendment of the law on the obligations and rights of Sejm deputies. This second decree concerns a change in the text of the deputy's oath.

At the end of his address, the deputy, in the name of the special commission, motioned to the Sejm to adopt two resolutions: On confirming the decrees of the Council of State, and on stating the validity of the election of deputies. [passage omitted]

The Sejm speaker announced voting. With 311 votes for, 21 against and 95 abstentions, the Sejm approved the decree of the Council of State. The Sejm also adopted the resolution stating the validity of of electoral election. The resolution was passed with 414 votes for, 3 against and 13 abstentions.

Reply

As many deputies were going out for a break, Deputy Tadeusz Kijonka (PUWP) asked for permission to speak. I did not want to refer to Deputy Szymanderski's statement before the voting because I did not want to disturb it, he said. I want, however, to motion for giving up the use of the publicistic phrase "the 35 percent democracy" inside the Sejm. I am for the equality of all deputies and for agreement among us.

Election of Tribunal of State

Also today the Sejm elected the new Tribunal of State except its president whose office, the constitution says, is reserved for the president of the Supreme Court, who is now Adam Lopatka.

Let us recall that the Tribunal of State was appointed in March, 1982, to judge about the responsibility of persons on top state posts for breaching the constitution and statutes. The tribunal is elected from people outside the Sejm. Eligible are only persons having full civil rights, with no court records and not employed by state administration organs.

The speaker recalled that at least 50 percent of tribunal members should be people with qualifications required of court judges, and he read out a list of persons recommended for the Tribunal of State by Sejm deputy floor groups.

Deputy Jacek Ambroziak (citizen's deputy floor group) spoke about the elections to the Tribunal of State. In connection with the resignation from being a tribunal candidate by Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki, he suggested to substitute him by Jacek Murczewski, previosuly recommended for the post of deputy member of the tribunal. Ambroziak also motioned for the election of Wieslaw Zablocki as deputy member of the Tribunal of State. Deputy Ambroziak declared his floor group's full support for the motion made by the democratic party deputy floor concerning the amendments to the law on the Tribunal of State.

The Sejm elected the recommended 28-member Tribunal of State with 371 votes in favour, 5 against, and 37 abstentions. [passage omitted]

The Sejm closed its meeting at 17.50 hrs.

Kielce Deputy, Sejm Speaker Speak

LD0507170489 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1548 GMT 5 July 89

[From the relay of the 2d day of the Sejm proceedings on 5 July; remarks by Kielce Deputy Juliusz Braun followed by Sejm Speaker Kozakiewicz's reply—live]

[Text] [Kozakiewicz] Deputy Juliusz Braun from Kielce.

[Braun] I wanted to present a question via the procedure of Article 64 of the regulations. Since yesterday's meetings of the Sejm and Senate were accompanied by a regrettable incident, I would like to pose a question in connection with this. Throughout the whole of yesterday, we saw KPN pickets [Confederation for an Independent Poland], protesting against the possible election of General Jaruzelski to the Presidency. The pickets behaved calmly and did not disrupt the peace, which was noted even by today's ZYCIE WARSZAWY. For the whole time, they were watched by militia functionaries, keeping the peace near the Sejm. Meanwhile, during the night, they were attacked by male civilians, as we hear, in a brutal manner, and were transported to the district office of internal affairs. I would like to ask, directing this question to the internal affairs minister, what were the intentions of the persons who ordered this action precisely on the day of the first meeting of parliament, of the Sejm and Senate? Thank you.

[Kozakiewicz] Thank you very much. [applause] I... [pause] (?does one?)... [pauses] I did not know what the subject of the deputy's speech would be. I would like to state that, within the agenda of today's proceedings, we did not have an item for deputies' interpellations and questions. I believe that, despite this, the internal affairs minister will take a stance on the citizen deputy's questions. However, this question is, as if, outside the agenda of the proceedings.

Senator on Appeal for Patience

LD0507191789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1609 GMT 5 Jul 89

[From the relay of the Senate Session on 5 July held in the Sejm building in Warsaw; speech by Senator Szczypiorski with interjections by Senate Speaker Professor Stelmachowski—live]

[Text] [Szczypiorski] Mr Speaker! May it please the Senate! I must share my reflections with you, ladies and gentlemen, concerning yesterday's deliberations in our noble house. I came to this assembly in an elevated mood and I presume that many Poles shared this mood. For the first time for over 50 years the Republic's Senate has gathered to deliberate on the state of the state and the nation. It was an historic moment, and not without profound reasons, Speaker Stelmachowski spoke here yesterday about the breath of history which we can feel around ourselves.

However, we also feel, I hope perhaps everyone does, the breath of fleeing time. Events in the country are accelerating rapidly. As I already said at a club meeting, my impression is that these are the last days of social peace in the country. People are extremely irritated and everyday life, despite various government announcements about the so called, not easy living conditions, is simply becoming unbearable for people. It is impossible to buy anything, it is impossible to get anything done, almost everything is bursting at the seams, and almost everything is falling to pieces in our hands. We did not talk about this yesterday. There was no time for it because a debate was in progress on the subject of commas in one resolution.

Please forgive me this literary exaggeration. I understand that we must prepare our rules and regulations properly, but there will be time for rules and regulations, as I said from this rostrum yesterday, in a week's or 2 week's time. The issue of the Senate Commissions is also very important because we have to introduce order into our parliamentary work, but this is not the most important matter today either, nor the most urgent matter. The nation did not expect this from its own Senate at the inaugural meeting.

I am not denying that very valuable, dignified and beautiful words were said here, both in the speaker's speech and the speech by Deputy Speaker Kuratowska. I sincerely thank them for them. But the prevailing atmosphere was focused on formal and, in my opinion, secondary issues. I could summarize my impression in the following words—I said that before several times—the Titanic is sinking and the band is still playing on the upper deck. This is not an optimistic reflection. I left this house yesterday with some bitterness.

I think that the Senate has a mission to fulfill in Poland. It boils down, above all, to the formation of contemporary spiritual life of the nation, to the tedious and ungratifying—but also necessary—placing of moral road signs on this extremely hard road which our society will have to cover in order to reach, some time, the Polish promised land: Full democracy, full soveriegnty and moderate prosperity...

[Stelmachowski, interrupting] Excuse me, senator. What point do you propose for the agenda?

[Szczypiorski] I am just coming to it, Mr Speaker. During the coming 4 years we shall, together with the president, Sejm and government, mark out this difficult road and Poland is expecting specific deeds and specific words from us.

May it please the house! I propose that the Senate today adopt an appeal to society, expressing on the one hand thanks for our election to this house, but above all, describing in this message the Senate's stance in relation to the current situation, and appealing to Poles to show understanding patience for another few weeks. Poles are wise. They have provided evidence of this in the past and at present. Society must, however, be asked on our behalf for some time and for some understanding for us. We have no experience. We do not have the knowledge about the essence of the problems with which we shall have to deal.

[Stelmachowski] Senator, is it your intention to introduce an agenda point: A general debate on the subject of the situation?

[Szczypiorski] No, Mr Speaker. I request that an ad hoc commission be set up which will work out the wording of the Senate's appeal to Polish society in connection with the current situation, and which will ask the nation for a few weeks of understanding patience for us. This is my idea. Or perhaps, for several months, as Barrister Wende is saying to me. I do not know, as I have not prepared a draft of this kind. I am only proposing that a commission be set up which would work out the wording of such an appeal to Polish society and present it to the house for vote.

Thank you very much. [applause]

Senate Issues Resolution

LD0507212189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1929 GMT 5 Jul 89

[From the relay of the Senate proceedings on 5 July in the Sejm building in Warsaw; final version of the Senate's resolution on the KPN demonstration—live]

[Text] [Unidentified senator] The Senate of the Polish People's Republic expresses its concern and indignation in connection with the attack, beating up, and detention during the night of 4 July and the early hours of 5 July, of participants in a peaceful demonstration, which did not cause public disorder, near the buildings of the Sejm and Senate.

The Senate reiterates the right of citizens to express views and opinions in any peaceful form. For this reason we demand that the internal affairs minister immediately investigate the matter and take steps against the persons who, by committing unlawful attacks of this kind, stir up social tensions and undermine the credibility of transformations occuring in the country. We express the conviction that appropriate bodies are able to ensure the safety of people taking part in demonstrations of this type.

Newly Elected Senator Dies, By-Election Called

LD0207181489 Warsaw PAP in English 1627 GMT 2 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 2—In connection with the death June 29 of one of newly elected senators, Professor Grzegorz Bialkowski, the Senate will have to state the vacancy at the senator's seat taken hitherto by the deceased.

In tune with the Senate election rules, the Senate will take a resolution on by-elections.

Council of State Issues Decree on Deputies' Oath

LD0107195189 Warsaw PAP in English 1633 GMT 1 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 1—The Council of State at its meeting here today, acting on the motion of the "roundtable" coordinating committee, issued a decree on the amendment of the law on duties and rights of deputies of the Sejm (Polish parliament) wording the following text of deputy's oath:

"I solemnly pledge as Sejm deputy to honestly and thoroughly fulfil duties towards the nation, guard the sovereignty and interests of the state, to do everything for the well-being of the motherland and the good of citizens, observe the legal order of the Polish People's Republic."

Basing on the April 7, 1989, law on the amendment to the Polish Constitution, the Council of State called the first meeting of the Sejm of the 10th term on July 4, 1989, to start at 12:[illegible] hours, while the first meeting of the Senate on the s[illegible]ay and to start at 17:00 hours (the meeting will be [illegible] at the seat of the Sejm).

The Council of State appointed Zbigniew Rudnicki of the Democratic Party as senior-speaker of the Sejm and Stanislaw Stomma of the Solidarnosc senior-speaker of the Senate.

Rakowski Responds to Deputy's Criticism

LD0507211489 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 5 Jul 89

[Text] Yesterday, we reported to you on the course of the deputies' debate, ladies and gentlemen, and, among other things about the polemics which arose between Deputy Jacek Kuron and Deputy Premier Ireneusz Sekula.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Excuse me, Mr Premier, what do you think of yesterday's performance, more precisely the speech in the Sejm by Jacek Kuron, who said that this government, your government, in fact has done nothing.

[Rakowski] Well, various thoughts come to mind. First, I did not know that Deputy Jacek Kuron was an expert on the economy, but everyone has the right to pronounce on the economy. Second, I thought to myself that if the government, which is led by me, has done nothing good in the past 9 months, then I wondered by what miracle citizen Jacek Kuron finds himself in our parliament. Could it be that angels created the conditions which enabled citizen Kuron to reach the position of a deputy in the Sejm? I believe that it was not angels, but simply people, and, to be specific, all those actions which my party, the leadership to which I belong, initiated at the 10th plenary meeting of the Central Committee. However, I think that it would be worth remembering this. [end recording]

Miodowicz Speaks on Trade Union Issues

LD0107103289 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1610 GMT 30 Jun 89

[Speech by National Television Confederation Chairman Alfred Miodowicz at meeting with trade unionists and workers of Warsaw's Wola District on 30 June—recorded]

[Text] Colleague trade unionists! This is my second meeting with Wola trade union activists and, as you know, every now and again I manage to say things to you without referring to a piece of paper. But the situation is indeed difficult and complex. Our trade unions for a long time now have not said what their further program of action amounts to. For a long time now they have not said how we see the reform of our economy. Nor have we said what's going to happen to the OPZZ [National Trade Union Confederation] after the roundtable and how we are going to collaborate with fraternal trade unions.

Furthermore, let's be frank, I have great respect for Wola trade unionists and its people and consequently I have come here well prepared, and I would like simply to present and read out my paper for you here. It was not prepared just for you. It was prepared for all trade unionists in our country. And I think it will be heard with interest equally by those who belong to our OPZZ, by those who belong to class-based unions but outside of the OPZZ, who are somewhat informally grouped in WPZZ's [Voivodship Trade Union Accords], as well as heard with interest—I hope—by our partners, our colleagues from Solidarity and other trade unions.

Poland's situation, and especially its economic situation, is difficult. As perceived by the public, the welfare situation of the working people, workers, and intelligentsia is precarious. The galloping price rises and inflation, with a simultaneous lack of goods on the market, leads to frustration and is fraught with the risk of public unrest. In this context, our role, the role to be fulfilled by trade unions, acquires special importance. Today I would like to share with you, Wola trade unionists, my ideas on these and other subjects. I would also like to hear your opinions on them.

Let us try to draw up a kind of opening balance sheet. Behind us we have the roundtable and the elections. If we look at these phenomena as a logical sequence of events, we could draw the following conclusions.

First, our political pluralism is running ahead of trade union pluralism, in spite of the fact that this is not legally settled. Secondly, the real balance of forces cannot be determined even by the most competent groups, that is by power elites, over the heads of the public, as we have learned while digesting the effects of the 10th Party Plenary Session. Thirdly, an expansion of freedom and democracy may turn out to be illusory if our economy remains shaky. We are afraid of becoming the most democratic poverty in Europe.

These are the realities. And we have been saying this for some time now. We want reforms and democracy. But we stubbornly keep on repeating that slogans mean nothing. Reformers and democrats are not those who call themselves so, but those who are able to reform and democratise our country. That is why, although it is said of us that we torpedoed phase two of the reform, it was the OPZZ unions that have shown that a failed concept of prices and wages policy is insupportable. We contributed to the fall of those who devised it.

An opening to the opposition was meant to be a consequence of this, for we did not see any opportunity for a real reform of Poland, of the political and conceptual monopolies. My conversation with Lech Walesa provided impetus for a new look at the significance of the opposition in political and economic life in our country. After that there was the roundable. There, however, we could not agree to a pluralism in which our arguments would not be taken into account from the very start.

The famous interval at the end of the roundtable deliberations resulted, not from an excess of ambition on the part of the head of the OPZZ, but from a substantive dispute about a concept, about the concept of indexation. Propaganda has painted an image of us [words indistinct] that was introduced into circulation in the worst times of Stalinism, next to our democratizing society, yes. It is not pluralism when one side is not allowed to stick to its opinion, and an attempt was made to take this right away from us. We did not believe in the slogan of nonconfrontational elections. The elections hitherto have been such, when one force took part. In accordance with our expectations, the last elections were, of course, confrontational, that is to say normal. And one cannot have any complaint about that with respect to anyone. In accordance with the electoral law and tactics accepted and proposed by the coalition, the opposition won within the bounds agreed at the roundtable. A new balance of forces has arisen in the National Assembly.

The coalition cannot rule without the opposition, which to some extent cannot and above all does not want to take power. How are we to address the results of the elections and this newly arisen situation? What conclusions are to be drawn for oneself?

Not being a political party, and not having a single mandate of our own, we could not of course have won the elections, for this was after all not the point. Thus, we do not treat this as our defeat. In the whole of our electoral campaign and through its content the point was to strengthen the trade unions in the social consciousness. That is how I personally ran this campaign. That is how my friends who were seeking deputies' or Senators' mandates ran their campaign: for the presentation of our program that we are trying to consistently implement, albeit without deserved result so far. And the point above all is the defense of the interests of the working people.

Recently, we have heard that such a standpoint is demagogic. This is in essence false, unless one identifies the trade unions with a social force or political party. The OPZZ trade unions were, are, and will be trade unions. We are accused of issuing demands. But what else are we supposed to do? In a pluralist society there are differences of interests between various social groups.

As practice shows, the fudging of these differences does not benefit anyone. It is surely normal that as an organization of employees we want high rewards, respect for the dignity of labor, recognition for work. We want social justice. Certain people tell us that, under socialism, the trade unions are to support the state. They're welcome, but that is a civic state based on society and not a state of bureaucrats and speculators.

As hitherto, it is ever more frequently the case that what is produced or made is wasted or appropriated by someone else, sometimes within the majesty of the law—I am thinking of companies. Others accuse us of ineffectively defending workers' rights. But who was more effective than we?

Hitherto, I wish to remind you, it was on our initiative that the crucial legal acts for the improvement of living standards of working people were thoroughly revised. Of course, not for today, on the verge of [word indistinct] inflation, but at the time when we did this, inflation was of the order of 13-15-20 percent or so. I will recall the law on the social housing fund, [word indistinct] improved sharply and improved quickly. We were wrong not to do this, that we could not allow that the Ninth Sejm to do this, or the law on enterprise collective agreements, or the law on enterprise remuneration systems.

This is also true of the Act of the Social Security Agency, the acts on the employees' vacation fund, the state labor inspectorates and, finally, the 1985 amendment to the Trade Union Act, which brought the trade unions many decisive rights. Today, after the so-called lesser amendment, these rights have been emphasized in a much weaker fashion. That doesn't matter. The acts on the national socio-economic plan were modified twice, in most instance on our initiative, to allocate more resources for housing, food, environmental protection, education, and the health service. When I say initiative, I am thinking of our team of several dozen trade union deputies who did so well in the last Sejm.

It is also worth recalling that we stopped the implementation of a bill amending 12 other acts, including endeavors against the rights of employees' self-management bodies, against a 5-day working week, against allowances paid on the basis of vocational charters.

Finally, we should remind the demagogues that it was our unions that forced the publication of the objectives concealed behind the referendum questions. And after the failure of the so-called phase two of the reform, it was we who demanded that the government resign, which was accepted by the Sejm. Furthermore, it is our OPZZ unions that are involved in recreational and cultural activities, vacations, and play schemes, and the cheapest foreign exchanges of working people and young people. After all, it was the OPZZ who eminently contribtued to the restoration of normal relations with the International Labor Organization, which is a very important matter for Poland and the Poles.

For a vocational movement we have done quite a lot. Nevertheless, the list of unfinished business, where I include first and foremost the chronic collapse of housing construction and the steady deterioration of the natural environment, is very long and alarming.

We have been operating in conditions of political monopoly and an extending crisis, which is equally an economic and social crisis. We have been constrained by various forces and external arrangements, by bureaucratic fortresses. We have been overcoming them but our effectiveness has been greatly restricted. I am convinced that, once emotions subside, the trade union movement will be properly appraised. But the most important thing is that we ourselves appraise ourselves properly. We have no cause for false modesty. We can say without hesitation that, without us, the successive stages of chaotic corrections of the economy would have been longer and brought more losses. The road to democracy and pluralism would have been both longer and more dangerous.

Today the most important place continues to be held by economic problems. The economic policy of the last few years has failed. Nor did the sun shine for it, or hope manifest itself after the roundtable. We continue to have to deal with systematic price increases, a lack of basic commodities, and also the thre three-digit inflation this year. We are threatened with disturbances in the food market. The sitaution is becoming intolerable for working people and the whole of society. That is why today it is our obligation, and that of all our forces gathered together, and also of other forces and political groupings, to seek a way out from this threatening situation.

We warned against these phenomena and their results. Though it is not the role of trade unions, we pointed to a rational solution and illustrated the possibility of other solutions. I will just mention the first alternative proposed by Professor Sadowski—an alternative that was held back by our censors' office and which had to circulate as an illegal publication, although we were aparently very legal and, as we were then called 2 years ago, progovernment trade unions. The only sensible way out from this situation that we have is to declare ourselves in favor of a real socialization of ownership, the affranchisement of millions of people living from their own work.

The point is for every employee in a state or socialized firm to become a defacto co-owner and co-manager, that he feels fully responsible for its economic results, and the he be personally interested in the results of the work of his own firm. And then this will benefit him as well as the whole of society.

That is why we must efficiently build economically beneficial, socially varied forms of ownership, and pluralistically developing sectors. I have in mind here the socialized sector in particular. It can be constituted by enterprises that are (?state-owned), communal enterprises, associations and foundations, social welfare agencies, and also co-operative enterprises, self-management enterprises, or joint-stock companies cooperating and competing with each other on an equal basis. I stress equal basis, for as of this moment the socialized sector is clearly behind. A model of management thus conceived should be based on the socialization of the processes of management of a work enterprise. The independent (?measure) of this will be the workers' self-management, authentically concerning itself with economic matters. That will always gain our moral and social support.

In self-management we see a widening of workers' democracy. We declare ourselves in favor of an acceleration of the process of reconstruction of our economy. It is obvious that our unions will be strongly interested in and will defend the interests of work forces in reorganized enterprises. The problems of these work forces must be resolved with respect for workers' and people's dignity. They must be resolved better than it was and is done in the leading countries of Europe. Taught by our sad experience, we will take care that the decisions on the liquidation of enterprises result from economic factors and not from the whims of ministers. That is, I have in mind the independent decisions of some ministers or other.

We also expect that the new government will present a rational program, with a timetable, for the improvement of the supply of consumption goods and the slowing down of inflation.

We are ready for talks and negotiations on every subject that will give rational hope for ridding us of these burdens and constant, lets say everyday, inadequacies. The marketing of the food economy, which is so loudly talked of recently, is associated by us with full compensation for and particular protection of families that are economically weak. We are, finally, in favor of the creation of real equal chances for all the sectors of the economy, and so, for the reformed, general social, cooperative and private sectors.

Legally equal conditions of management will favor, and should favor, the creation of identical possibilities for the development of enterprise, human abilities, and initiative. We will not agree, as happens at present, that the material and personnel resources of the state sector are the constant source of the informal and speculative reinforcement of the private sector. This phenomenon is unnatural and that is why it is reprehensible. We do not agree with wildcat privateering and differences of incomes not based on labor. This does not in any case exist anywhere in the civilized world. That is also why we are against companies and various cooperatives that do not create commodities, but merely concern themselves solely with speculation, speculation moreover with commodities produced in socialized work enterprises. We will always say no to the organization of bureaucracy and con artists. This can be most effectively avoided in one way. Earnings in state and socialized enterprises must be, if not higher, then at least the same as in private enterprises and in private firms.

One cannot defend those firms which are mismanaged to the extent of ripping off people employed in them. In the context of the above concept of reforming of the economy, it is not difficult to notice what kind of movement we really are, and whose interests we wish to defend. We are a class movement. However, we endow new sense to this notion. We defend and we represent the interests of the working people employed at present in the state and socialized economy.

The worker's fate is especially dear to us. We will fight for the employee of the socialized sector to enjoy decent working conditions, as well as pay which guarantees appropriate living conditions for the family. The socioeconomic crisis of recent years has especially affected the superstructure. Funds for culture, education, sciences, and the health service have relatively declined. It is not difficult to notice that it had to be reflected on the attitudes and the standard of living of the Polish intelligentsia. A gap has widened between material and nonmaterial production.

Creative work, the work of a member of the intelligentsia, is paid ever worse. Such a situation brings about frustration and social disquiet. But, after all, no society cannot develop itself and live without its intellectual elite. It has catastrophic effects on the national education and culture, scientific progress, health care, and our future.

The impoverished intelligentsia is protesting. The technical intelligentsia, on the other hand, does not for the same reasons reveal the correct attitude in the application of technical and technological progress. It stands, as it were, on the side of the struggle for social calm in factories and institutions. From the very beginning of the OPZZ, we have supported the intelligentsia in its struggle for occupational dignity, creative freedom, and decent conditions of material well-being.

That is why we acknowleged its difficult position, and that is why we resolutely supported, and still support, the recent protest actions of teachers and health service employees. We were convinced as to their cause. We will see to it that solutions adopted by the Sejm concerning the formation of the remuneration fund for the budget sphere are not forgotten, especially in the present situation.

We will also defend the living standards of the approximately 40 percent of Polish families living on the brink of the poverty level. Already this year we have to create the legal basis that in the future will prevent the creation of new old-age pensions and the impoverishment of labor veterans. Because that is how we interpret our class (?position).

Poland is at the beginning of a road leading to political pluralism. It is possible that a number of democratic and leftwing parties and associations will appear. In such a situation we are and will be open to collaboration with those parties and movements which will be close to us ideologically and programmatically, and which will regard serving the interests of the working people employed in the socialized economy as their supreme task. We base our relations with political parties, and will continue to do so, on the basis of partner-like cooperation. For their members we will create conditions for the development of comprehensive public and vocational activity within our trade unions. Colleagues, trade union pluralism has not weakened us. People are not abandoning our ranks. On the contrary, we are even more determined in the struggle for our union objectives. We also have a greater field of maneuver and freedom of action than before. We are starting to regroup our forces. We will be concentrating more on some selected problems which are the greatest burden for the working people. I believe that that is also how the national and enterprise trade union organizations should behave, as well as the WPZZ's.

We will be seeking allies in these actions. We see them in the movement of employees' self-management bodies and in associations, both that exist already and those that are being created. We want to cooperate closely with all forces of the democratic left, irrespective of whether they get their inspiration from socialist theories or the progressive social thought of the Catholic Church. We see as being on the left, those who oppose economic exploitation and social and political exploitation, and who support social justice, that is they are against some people having to tighten their belts so that others can grow rich by sponging off them. We see as being on the left, those who regard as superior values the defense of the interests and dignity of the working people, a progressive social policy, democratization of life, civil and employees' liberties, and law-observance. On the other hand, we will not find a common language with those who promise illusions or who demagogically call on the young people to get rich, when at the moment there are not such opportunities for young people, and those who confuse Poles' minds by promising massive foreign aid. We are our own only chance. And, of course, no one is going to sink their money into a disorganized economy.

Ahead of us we have difficult months and perhaps even years. I see the greatest threat in our economy breaking down. The working people may run out of patience and faith for accepting the difficult decisions for improving our economy, which would bring about improved supplies and a reduction in inflation. Because the situation is such that we may be threatened by a breakdown of the market, including the food market. Consequently, should the introduction of balanced prices be compensated? This question should be clearly put to the working people.

No power elite can take onto itself the responsibility to reply to this question, so dramatically put. The danger of rationing cards must be clarified—I am thinking of meat rationing cards—and create such thorough conditions for recompensation as will enable social acceptance of the rational marketization of the economy. This is the road of hope.

I am also made uneasy, as the head of the OPZZ, by the confrontational tendencies between the trade unions. I feel that there is room for many unions in the work enterprise, the region, and the country. We are in favor of pluralism resting on cooperation between trade unions, in the work enterprise, in the production department. This is quite simply essential as we have forsaken the principle of one trade union in one work enterprise. Competition and not partnership. But I could put this differently, competition but partnership as well. That will be better, if I put it thus, competition but partnership in labor as well. This is the guarantee of our cooperation with our friends, with our trade unionists from Solidarity.

I think that in important matters for working people cooperation in the framework of the Sejm, between members of various trade unions, will also be possible. This must be clearly said. For us, trade unionists, it will be most important that we do not get bogged down, not sink amongst the many rousing slogans that have no backing. The trade unions will be strong where they can count on themselves, when they do not allow themselves to be drawn into arrangements, clandestine contracts with the administration and the local authorities. The most important thing is that we be good, credible and serious, and thereby thorough representatives of working people.

The situation will radicalize. That is why our activity must be more on the offensive. Its effectiveness demands of competence, knowledge, and experience. I personally see the possibility of the success of our trade unions. I see it in the unity, wisdom, and determination of our activities. Thank you very much.

Solidarity's Bujak Interviewed on Reforms
AU0107162389 Vienna NEUE AZ in German 30 Jun 89 pp 8-9

[Interview with Solidarity leader Zbigniew Bujak by Georg Hoffmann-Ostenhof in Vienna "last weekend": "Poland: Great Hope for Western Capital"]

[Text] Until recently, Zbigniew Bujak, who is in his thirties, was one of the most wanted men in Poland. The underground leader of Solidarity, considered to be the head of its radical wing, was persecuted and chased by the regime of the Communist Party. How times have changed: Last weekend [24-25 June], Bujak went to Vienna together with several Polish ministers to attend the meeting on "How can the West bring about the development of the market economy in East Europe?" In the Schwarzenberg Palace prominent figures from West and East discussed this topic. They were invited by the "Institute for the Science of Man," an institute that was founded by [Austrian Science Minister] Busek, and which invited among others Umberto Agnelli (Fiat), Kurt Biedenkopf (Christian Democratic Union), Felix Rohatyn (Wall-Street), Otto Wolff von Amerongen (industrial magnate), and Ivan Ivanov, deputy chairman of the USSR State Foreign Economic Commission. Bujak said that some $20 billion worth of Western aid was necessary for the recovery of the Polish economy. Kurt Biedenkopf agreed: "This seems to be a realistic amount."

[Question] Here in Vienna you appeared in the Schwarzenberg Palace, in an environment of baroque splendor, and you talked to the elite of West European capital, economists, and Soviet politicians. Only a few months ago you were chased underground by the police as Poland's number one state enemy. How does it feel to experience such a change of scenes?

Bujak: The question is what situation is more exciting. It is nice to be a guest in a palace. Yet, I hope Count Schwarzenberg will forgive me: The small and shabby rooms, in which I had to hide, have made a greater impression on my memory.

Question: What you do here in Vienna must be exciting as well: As a trade union leader you have come here to ask the West's high finance sector for money. That is quite a delicate matter.

Bujak: One thing is clear: What is going on in Poland is an epoch-making process. Like any other country, Poland can only survive in a community of countries. This is why it is important that this community understands the problems of our country. What I thought was exciting is that the things I say here might influence the understanding of Polish developments by those who have assembled here, by people who are not unimportant in Europe.

[Question] Did you get the impression that there is understanding for the situation in Poland?

Bujak: There is certainly interest. It remains to be seen what comes out of it in real terms, and how this will translate into material aid. I have not come here as a beggar. I think that Poland is well prepared for investment and cooperation in the capital sector. Good conditions for business have already been created.

[Question] Mr Bujak, you and your people from Solidarity have just fought elections, and now one can see in black and white that the Communist Party has absolutely no credit with the population any more, and that Solidarity enjoys wide support. Why do you not completely take over power?

Bujak: It is not that clearly in black and white. The leading officials of the party, who have participated in or supported our roundtable talks have not been elected, but in many instances they achieved results of around 40 percent. This is quite good. Moreover, it is important that the government, which has now to be established in Poland, is a strong government. If the opposition were to form the government the question arises whether this would be a strong government. My answer is no.

[Question] Why not?

Bujak: Because the local party apparatuses would be able to block such a government.

[Question] Thus, one would to have hold elections at a local level...

Bujak: Yes, that is right. A government by the current opposition would need much wider access to many things, through the media, for example. However, this requires an apparatus. The current opposition would also need organizations, such as economic and administrative organizations. We have not reached that stage yet. One must not forget that Poland is still part of the East Bloc. Contacts with East Bloc governments are important for a Polish government. The opposition still has to work on that...

[Question] Is it not also important that the apparatuses of the police, the army, and the secret services are still in the hands of the Communist Party?

Bujak: It has a certain importance. However, it is less significant than it appears to be. Of course, one has to understand that ministries such as the Ministries of the Interior or the Ministry of Defense cannot so easily be taken over by the opposition. One has to proceed very cautiously to make sure that Poland does not run into a civil war.

[Question] Well, but now there is a current problem, namely the election of the president. Large parts of the population would not understand if Solidarity deputies were to vote for Jaruzelski...

Bujak: The results of the roundtable talks guarantee the government the majority in the National Assembly.

[Question] Despite the election results...

Bujak: Yes, and the result of the presidential elections in the National Assembly will depend on how united the government side will vote. We have always made it clear that the senators and deputies of the opposition will vote against Jaruzelski. We have also been against the introduction of the office of president. If you want to know my personal opinion on Jaruzelski, I can only say that despite the fact that his decision to introduce martial law was criticized, I am quite surprised that it was this man of all people who encouraged understanding at the roundtable, that this man legalized Solidarity, and that he has firmly supported the reform program.

[Question] Do you think that it is wise of the party to nominate him as candidate for the presidency, particularly when one considers his decision to introduce martial law?

Bujak: The party simply does not have any other candidate.

[Question] Let us now turn to the future: When I met with Jacek Kuron, one of your greatest intellectual representatives, in 1980, at a time when Solidarity was just about to establish itself, I had the impression that he was a real, full-blooded politician. I bet a friend a bottle of champagne that this man would at one point become a Polish minister. I have been laughed at because of this bet for many years. Is there still a chance that I win it, after all?

Bujak: He is and remains one of the best Polish politicians. You can tell your colleague that he can already put the champagne into the refrigerator.

[Question] Mr Bujak, there is a great dilemma within Solidarity. On the one hand, it is a trade union, but on the other hand it is also regarded as a political front with many different political tendencies, from the far left to the far right...

Bujak: Look, there are two independent structures of organization: The trade union, on the one hand, and then the movement of "citizens' committees," (which emerged in the course of the election campaign—the editors). The political influence of the trade union is of course very big. We do not conceal this fact. However, now all political activities are being taken over by this network of citizens' committees.

[Question] So this is a kind of substitute for a party?

Bujak: Yes, it is. Many people have tried to found parties in Poland—socialist, christian-democratic, and other parties.... With rather little success. These are attempts to revive the ghosts of the 19th century.

[Question] Is the foundation of parties an anachronism or is Poland not yet ready for a multiparty system?

Bujak: The citizens' committees could represent something of a new quality. If they were to manage to hold their own and to be successful, then this could be proof that maybe the party system is an anachronism.

[Question] Is it not unnatural that one political organization should assemble everything from conservative-catholic groups, to social-democratic-laical ones, and even left-wing socialist groups?

Bujak: Parliament becomes the site of rivalry between different interests; political pluralism is undisputed. However, this differentiation does not necessarily have to correspond to classical party systems. What will be much more important is the confrontation between different interests that are related to certain topics: ecology, the health sector, and so on. Thus, confrontation is more likely to occur between representatives who support different causes, such as between liberals, left-wingers, Catholics, ...

[Question] There is yet another serious dilemma: Solidarity is a trade union, and as such it supports reform. However, at the same time reform will bring hard times for wide sectors of the population in the form of inflation and unemployment. How do you solve this contradiction?

Bujak: We are the first ones to deal with this problem. If capital is used at a general level, that is to say on a wide scale, then the change of the economic system, which we support, will not cause such high social costs. If investments are made in many enterprises at the same time, then everything will be easier. Even now one can see that the working conditions in new, private enterprises, in joint venture enterprises, and whereever there is Western capital are better than in the traditional enterprises.

[Question] Well, this refers to the individual enterprises. However on the basis of society at large, reform means that large groups will get poorer. So there are winners and losers.

Bujak: Solidarity has to set up a large, special social program for those groups that may be affected by reform. They must be protected. Yet, if capital is used at a general level then there is no need to be afraid. Moreover, there is an old Polish saying that when there is a rich man and a poor man together, the poor man will always survive. However, when there are two poor men, one of them will die.

[Question] Now a question regarding the church. The church is traditionally very strong, particularly in a situation in which no other political group than the ruling one is admitted. Now Solidarity has been legalized, and there have been elections. Is the church not sad about the loss of its power?

Bujak: The situation is certainly new for the church. It will also have to find a new place for itself.

Communique Issued on 27 Jun Politburo Session

AU0307142789 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 29 Jun 89 p 2

[PAP report: "Communique on PZPR Central Committee Politburo Session"]

[Text] On 27 June the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee Politburo assessed the socio-political situation following the parliamentary elections.

On 4 June, the majority of society expressed criticism of the current situation, including the concrete, socially tangible effects of government and the management of the economy. It expressed support for far-reaching reforms in accordance with the "roundtable" accords. This represents an affirmation of the course adopted at the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum.

The results of the elections make it binding on all the basic political forces in our country to resolutely continue with institutional reforms and to participate in improving the state of affairs in Poland. None of the forces represented in parliament should shirk this.

Reforms that will make the life of the state more democratic are essential. These reforms will culminate in the formulation and adoption of a new Constitution by the Sejm.

The formation of the highest organs in the state is the most important task in the near future. This has to be accomplished in a way that will guarantee the continuity of the reforms and political stability. The fatherland will only be served well by a government that is efficient and enjoys public support. The functioning of state organs cannot be allowed to become weak. They should operate efficiently and reliably in solving the difficult tasks that our country faces.

The Politburo deemed it essential to modify and strengthen the principles of partner-like cooperation between the PZPR, the United Peasant Party, the Democratic Party, and Catholic and lay Christian associations.

The Politburo stressed that the emergence of a legal opposition on the Polish political scene has given rise to the possibility of increasing the efficiency of the actions of executive authorities that are subject to far-reaching parliamentary control.

Poland needs a government of national confidence. It needs a cabinet that is supported by a grand coalition and has a parliamentary mandate to take resolute action that will lead to an improvement in the socioeconomic and political situation.

The party is in favor of increasing the role of regional self-administration. The Politburo calls on all PZPR members serving on people's councils to consistently work toward accomplishing the tasks with which they have been entrusted and to work actively for their communities.

The social forces and movements that are organizing themselves, including "Solidarity," should be involved in the work of the people's councils. Their opinions should be sought systematically and they should be invited to take part in the work of council problem commissions.

The Politburo expresses recognition for and satisfaction at the the fact that the Central Committee is receiving all kinds of suggestions, views, and requests from party members, primary party organizations and party echelons, and from many people for whom the ideals of the left are dear. This is a very encouraging sign of greater debate within the party, debate that is rich both in sharp criticism and constructive proposals. The proposals will be submitted to the Central Committee at the upcoming plenary session.

The Politburo discussed issues relating to preparations for the 13th Central Committee plenum. The plenum will, among other things, assess how effectively the 10th plenum has been implemented and analyze the course and results of the elections, as well as the campaign preceding them. Appropriate conclusions will be drawn from this.

The Central Committee will examine issues connected with the formation of the leading organs of state and set out the party's position on the formation and composition of the government.

Proposals concerning the 11th congress will be examined. Preparations for the congress have to be based on more democratic election principles and open discussion on the PZPR's programmatic principles.

There will be two parts to the 13th plenary meeting. This is because of the scale and complexity of the political issues that will be examined at the session, the schedule for the work of the National Assembly, plans for contacts between states, and the need for Central Committee members to seek opinions within their own communities.

The suggestions and opinions that the Central Committee has received clearly indicate that Poland needs a party that has been extensively reformed in line with the thinking behind the decisions made at the 10th plenum. Only a reformed party of this kind can satisfy public aspirations and future needs regarding institutional solutions.

The Politburo calls on all PZPR members, the party aktiv, and workers in all party echelons to participate in an active, creative debate on developing a party that is close to the workers' class and working people; a party that is efficient, can preserve its ideological identity and institutional role, and can ensure genuine unity of action under conditions of political pluralism and a socialist market economy.

The Politburo considers the great activity and keener exploration that is taking place within the party to be an expression of the vitality of political forces and of faith in the ability of the party to reorganize itself so that it recovers public confidence and support.

The Politburo invited the newly constituted PZPR Sejm Deputies Club to take part in the 13th plenum. Cooperation between party deputies and the Central Committee will be particularly valuable in working out the party's general policy line, analyzing the results and course of the elections, and defining modern forms and methods of PZPR activity.

The Politburo called on party echelons, organizations, and members to take account of and give serious consideration to the suggestions that citizens voiced during the election campaign.

Support has to be accorded to creative activity engaged in by committed managers and self-management bodies, with a view to increasing efficiency. It is particularly important to assist trade unions in solving the material problems experienced by working people.

The Politburo assessed the country's economic position. It stated that there had recently been an increase in the incidence of disturbing phenomena, especially in the marketplace. It is becoming increasingly difficult to buy foodstuffs and consumer goods. Speculation is on the increase. The standard of living of working people is deteriorating. This is a consequence of the defective operation of the mechanisms that determine wages and the inadequate linking of wages to increases in the production of consumer goods and in the provision of services, as well as to greater managerial efficiency.

The Politburo stressed that there is an urgent need for the joint state and public Commission for Incomes and Living Costs to start its work. It would resolve problems relating to wages and incomes imbalances in accordance with a feeling of social justice and the highest interests of the national economy.

The Politburo also examined more general problems connected with the reform of the Polish economy. It stressed that efforts have to be made to create a new economic order that would be in harmony with the "roundtable" accords. Much has already been accomplished in this field. However, this cannot be allowed to obscure the errors and shortcomings that have emerged during the course of implementing the reform. In view of this, attention was drawn to the need to make adjustments to certain institutional solutions.

The issue of transforming ownership relations in the economy is of first-rank importance. The Politburo is in favor of pluralism with respect to forms of ownership in keeping with the principle that "the most efficient and socially useful sector should win." This principle can be implemented on condition that there is genuine equality of opportunity and conditions for all sectors. Currently, state enterprises find themselves at a disadvantage compared to other units. There is public opposition to irregularities in the operation of some companies that are not giving the country anything and are often only established in order to "get round" financial regulations.

The Politburo believes that the scope and direction of changes in property ownership must be based on legislation. The Politburo calls on the PZPR Deputies Club to raise this issue in parliament as quickly as possible. No public property should become privately owned until the Sejm passes appropriate legislation. The Politburo considers it reprehensible for people who occupy posts in the government apparatus to buy shares in companies and become involved in their activities, and thus exercise an influence on the conditions under which these economic bodies operate. The Politburo also believes that stocks and shares in companies should only be sold by way of stock exchanges and auctions that are open to all and do not accord anyone a privileged position.

The Politburo said it believed that the new parliament, in which the opposition will be represented, will be able to solve economic problems better and more effectively. The party is committed to approaching matters in this way. Much will depend on the readiness of all the forces represented in the Sejm and the Senate to cooperate constructively in creating and implementing concepts for the resolution of Poland's key socioeconomic problems.

30 Jun Council of Ministers Session Reported

AU0507142789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1-2 Jul 89 pp 1, 3

[PAP report: "Prices, Wages Freeze: Council of Ministers Statement"]

[Text] The government began its work under particularly difficult conditions: Economic disequilibrium was increasing; there had been public protests in the form of strikes directed against inconsistency in reforming the economy; the standard of living was declining, and there were few prospects for the future. The economy continued to be dominated by the command system, which effectively disabled attempts at reform that were lacking in boldness. The way in which government was exercised obstructed civic aspirations and initiatives.

The government's main objective was to lead the country out of the crisis.

The commencement of this process called for the rapid, simultaneous introduction of essential, radical economic and political reforms.

The government rejected a policy of half-measures and of compromises with the past and with old arrangements and structures. It was no longer possible to seek short-term results and superficial order. The postponement of genuine reform would only have delayed the venting of mounting public dissatisfaction.

It was essential to establish a new, market-oriented economic order and to democratize political and economic relations. It was necessary to unshackle the economy and release enterprise. All sectors of the economy had to be granted equal rights, monopolies had to be dismantled, and competition unleashed. Market mechanisms had to be introduced and the economy opened up to the rest of the world.

It is impossible to reform the economy without democratization. Government policy sought to increase civic sovereignty and extend the range of rights and liberties.

Conditions were created for the development of political and union pluralism and for the expression of diverse social, community, and regional interests.

A law on associations providing for freedom of association has already come into force. The decisions made at the "roundtable" resulted in amendments to the law on unions. A law on trade unions for individual farmers has also been passed. These laws are consonant with international labor organization conventions and permit the free development of union structures. "Solidarity" and "Rural Solidarity" were legalized on the basis of these laws.

On the initiative of the government, legislation was passed regulating the entire domain of church-state relations. The fundamental legal principles of freedom of conscience and religion, the freedom to perform religious duties, as well as equality with respect to rights and duties for all citizens, regardless of their attitude toward religion, were affirmed by law. The rights of churches and religious associations were also affirmed. The adoption of this legislation marked the end of a period of political, administrative, and ideological disputes in the field of religion.

The legislation creating a new information system is one of the ways in which the democratization of sociopolitical relations has manifested itself. Censorship regulations have been relaxed and it is no longer necessary for publishers to obtain permits.

Every citizen can have a passport. Government policy has strengthened the ties between Poles living abroad and Poland.

The criminal and misdemeanor codes have been liberalized, and guarantees of civil rights have been strengthened. Fundamental draft amendments to criminal and misdemeanor codes have been submitted for public discussion.

Bureaucratic absurdities that make people's lives more difficult have been eliminated from the operation of the administrative system and public institutions.

The Council of Ministers discussed proposals concerning the creation of institutions and structures for a modern parliamentary democracy.

The government appraised actions that have been taken thus far in the environmental protection field. It approved the national environmental protection program, which will be the cornerstone of ecological policy.

The legal foundations for the construction of a new economic order have been created on the initiative of the government. The laws on enterprise and foreign capital have already led to the emergence of 126,000 new enterprises and companies in all sectors of the economy, and the establishment of more than 130 new companies with a foreign capital component. New commercial banks have been established to promote enterprise. Currency laws have been liberalized, and a foreign exchange market is being created. This is the first step on the path leading to the convertibility of the zloty. There has been a radical curtailment of centrally directed distribution. A whole range of non-market means of distributing commodities have been abandoned: ration coupons, automobile vouchers, and so on. Economic experiments affirm the validity of the laws of the market. The establishment of duty-free zones can attract foreign capital.

It will be impossible to overcome the crisis without the normalization of trade and credit relations with the rest of the world, the acquisition of the new funds that are essential for development, and without a settlement of the Polish debt problem. Our economy must adjust to the world economy.

At its session, the Council of Ministers approved the provisions of an economic program for the years 1989-92, which includes an adjustment program. The document was drawn up with the participation of and in accordance with the suggestions made by experts from the IMF and the World Bank.

These international financial institutions provide credits to promote economic development on condition that a program be submitted which guarantees that the economy will be able to achieve internal equilibrium and boost exports in order to generate revenue to service debts. This will only be possible through the liberalization of the economy, the universal application of market mechanisms, the operation of a money market accompanied by the rigorous enforcement of high interest rates, a limiting of the supply of loans, and reduced budget expenditure, including reductions in subsidies.

The Council of Ministers examined a draft economic program for the years 1989-92 that envisages:

—priority status with respect to restoring market equilibrium;
—the attainment of equilibrium with respect to transactions relating to the second payments area by 1992.

The latter will depend on:
—obtaining credits from the IMF;
—implementing the World Bank program for structural changes in the economy;
—agreeing on debt repayment concessions with the Paris Club for the years 1989 through 1992;
—restoring foreign, government-backed credits for exports to and direct investment in Poland;
—establishing more advantageous terms—ones that are not worse than those accorded to other debtor countries—for servicing debts owed to commercial banks, and using the provisions of the Brady and Mitterrand Plans.

The draft economic program also envisages:
—sharp reductions in the budget deficit, the closure of loss-making enterprises, and the creation of a labor market;
—the elimination of official prices along with a tightening up on monetary and loan policy, as well as a more stringent subsidy system;
—fundamental changes in the branch and ownership structure of the economy, which will entail expanding the number of joint-stock companies, selling a portion of states assets, expanding opportunities for foreign capital investment in Poland, and the elimination of enterprises and productions process that are marked by excessive consumption of raw materials and energy;
—the provision of treasury bonds, which will be freely transferrable, to investment banks;
—the creation of a money market.

Small enterprises in the manufacturing and services sectors that are currently unprofitable will be sold or leased to private individuals. This will apply to, for example, small retail outlets, pharmacies, and catering industry establishments.

Communal property will be removed from the state economic system in 1990. It will become the property of towns and townships and will be administered by local government organs, which will also become independent of the state governmental system. Towns and townships will be able to form communal associations that can conduct activities outside their localities.

The Council of Ministers approved a package of measures to facilitate the implementation of the program.

The government also approved the principles that have been adopted for the reorganization of state social policy. State social policy will protect the economically weakest groups. Pensions and benefits will be regularly reviewed and adjusted. Legislation has been passed guaranteeing an appropriate ratio between earnings in the budgetary and manufacturing spheres.

In line with the decisions made at the "roundtable," the government has prepared a draft law on indexation. It is waiting to be considered by the Sejm.

The government familiarized itself with the progress that is being made in work on a fundamental reform of the health care system and on a national health program.

The Council of Ministers assessed the state of the economy in Poland. The increasing imbalance is a result of outdated economic structures and the vitality of economic processes. The old command economy management methods have ceased to function, and the new self-regulatory mechanisms have not yet fully come into play.

The most severe phenomenon is the increasing market imbalance. The main reason for this is the rapid rate of increase in people's incomes and financial reserves which has completely outstripped the rate at which goods and services are supplied to the market. The increase in imports of articles for consumption did not stem the fall in retail stocks. Increased panic buying of goods is emptying the market. Inflation is increasing. The budget deficit, caused by the disproportionate low budget revenues in comparison to the increasing outgoings which are not backed up by goods, is getting larger.

The Council of Ministers has made decisions to alleviate the difficult budget situation. The new resolution, among other things, will not permit new investment from allocated funds or the granting of individual tax concessions.

The present indices make it unlikely that industrial production for the current year will exceed the 1988 level. The shortage of raw materials is one of the causes of the stagnation of the nationalized industrial sector. The slowing of the rate of production has also been caused by the outflow of labor into other parts of the economy, changes in the source of financing, and the necessity of having to adapt to the new economic principles. The government fully intends to protect production destined for the internal market.

Livestock production is an area of special concern, notwithstanding the latest round of procurement price increases. This market sector is now threatened by a profound imbalance in the second half of the current year.

It is vital to apply market mechanisms to food production. The government has accepted the principles of these measures and has referred them to the trade unions for their consultation. Given the importance and social implications of adapting food production to market mechanisms, this should be the subject for debate by the new parliament.

In order to create the appropriate conditions for this process and to break the spiral of prices and wages, the Council of Ministers has decided on stern measures.

On the basis of the adopted resolutions on prices and on socioeconomic planning, there will be a 1-month moratorium on price and wage increases. The moratorium applies to retail and wholesale prices, individual wages, and subsidies.

Commitments made in relation to pay increases within the budget sector will be honored after the period of the moratorium at the levels which were agreed in the last round of negotiations.

The Council of Ministers made the decision to allocate further funds to cover the vacation costs of children and youth in the current year.

All ministers, directors of central agencies, and voivods who are empowered to fix prices and payment by regulations other than the one on prices are prohibited to raise these prices and payments in the period from 1 to 31 July.

We are at a watershed. The creation of a new economic order is our only chance of pulling out of the crisis.

There is no other way.

Weekly Gives Background to Katyn Investigation

LD0407202789 Warsaw PAP in English
1632 GMT 4 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 4—The Krakow-based "TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY" weekly carries an article by Leszek Martini headlined "The Truth About Katyn in Light of Documents."

The article begins with the following statement: "An interstate commission examining crimes committed on Polish officers interned in the Soviet Union cannot reach relevant documents in NKVD [USSR People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs] archives. In connection with the above, I wish to recall a certain fragment from a series of five articles which appeared in the German weekly '7 TAGE' in 1957...

The weekly refers to the research which Krakow's Prosecutor Dr Roman Martini began at the order of the Ministry of Justice of Poland in 1946.

After returning to Poland, Dr. Martini, who survived the German occupation in an officer's POW camp, became deputy voivodship prosecutor for the prosecution of Nazi crimes. He was convinced that he would be able to prove to the world that it was the Germans who committed the mass murder of 10,000 Polish officers who disappeared, and that by faking the discovery of Katyn mass graves they wanted to burden the Russian with the guilt. Dr Martini received the full support of the Polish and Soviet authorities for his undertaking. Along with several Polish scientists, he received permission to examine the graves in Katyn and former German archives found in the Soviet Union.

During long research, they searched through Gestapo cellars in cities formerly occupied by the Germans: Smolensk, Minsk, Kharkov.

In the cellar in Minsk, they chanced upon a document which both prosecutor Dr Martini and his colleagues did not expect to find. The document became the reason for Dr Martini's death after he made it public.

Soon afterwards, in the late evening of March 30, 1946, he was visited in his flat at Krupnicza Street in Krakow by two people who murdered him. The perpetrators were recognized and apprehended. Nonetheless, before the court case began, they disappeared from prison in circumstances which have never been explained."

The said document is a copy of a top secret report of the NKVD headquarters in Minsk to the main NKVD headquarters in Moscow dated June 10, 1940. The report reads in part:

"Under orders of the main board of the NKVD of February 12, 1940, three Polish POW camps, in the districts of the towns of Kozyelsk, Ostashkov and Starobyelsk, have been liquidated. The operation of liquidating the three said camps was ended on June 6. Comrade Buryanov, moved from headquarters, was named the head in charge (of the operation). On the basis of the above quoted command, the camp in Kozyelsk was liquidated as the first one. The liqidation was carried out by security bodies of the Minsk hedquarters of the NKVD in the district of the town of Smolensk from March 1 til May 3. Border troops were moved in to back up the operation, partly from the 190th Regiment of Defence..."

Leszek Martini writes in "TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY" that this document was translated and published in many English-language publications between 1962-1975.

Fisiak Signs Education Agreement With Ukraine

AU0307070389 Warsaw PAP in English
2112 GMT 2 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 2—After return from the Ukraine, where he signed Polish-Ukrainian agreement on cooperation in education, Polish Minister of Education Jacek Fisiak told PAP:

This is the third agreement signed with a neighbouring Soviet Republic and it regulates the whole sphere of Poland's cooperation with the Ukraine in education. The previous two agreements had been signed earlier with Lithuania and Byelorussia. The agreement with the Ukraine covers cooperation in primary and secondary education as well as cooperation between institutions of higher education, including scientific exchange.

Owing to the agreement, higher schools will be able to sign direct agreements on cooperation. I hope that it will foster intensification of contacts between scientist as well as students and university teachers.

The agreement provides also for creation of Polish secondary schools in the Ukraine. So far one such school and one primary school have been operating.

Moreover, there are plans to set up two departments of Polish studies at the universities of Lvov and Kiev.

Also the exchange of children and youth will be expanded.

Use of Persons' Fingerprints To Be Restricted

LD0207201589 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1700 GMT 2 Jul 89

[Text] The prosecutor general in his submission to the minister of internal affairs stated that the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic guarantees a citizen's personal inviolability, protecting, among other things, the freedom to use their fingerprints. The submission has been directed in connection with a report that fingerprints are taken by the passport offices of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW], which is contrary to this constitutional principle. Apart from the Penal Procedure Code, there is no other legal basis for fingerprinting citizens. This cannot be done on the basis of regulations which do not overrule the Constitution, in this case the MSW regulations. The minister of internal affairs agreed with the view of the prosecutor general and has taken the necessary decisions to waive the regulations in question.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 21-27 Jun

AU3006165689

[Editorial Report] Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish monitored from 22 to 28 June reports the following appearances of Polish leaders (date, page of each report given in parentheses):

Wojciech Jaruzelski, Central Committee first secretary and State Council chairman, received Tadeusz Porebski, new Polish ambassador to Yugoslavia, and Ryszard Karski, Polish ambassador to the FRG, on 23 June. (24-25 Jun 89 p 2)

Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Politburo member, received Tadeusz Porebski, new Polish ambassador to Yugoslavia, on 24 June. (25 Jun 89 p 2)

Wladyslaw Baka, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, attended a Central Committee subcommittee meeting on pensioners' affairs in Warsaw. (24-25 Jun 89 p 2)

Kazimierz Barcikowski, Politburo member and State Council deputy chairman, received Mozambican ambassador Julio Goncalo Braga on 26 June in Warsaw. (27 Jun 89 p 2) He received Lars Marcus, president of the International Cooperative Association, on 27 June. (28 Jun 89 p 5)

Stanislaw Ciosek, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, received foreign visitors to the TRYBUNA LUDU Festival in Warsaw on 24 June. (26 Jun 89 p 3)

Jozef Czyrek, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, received a Soviet Peace Committee delegation headed by Radomir Bogdanov on 21 June. (22 Jun 89 p 2) He received Marco Tulio Bruni Celli of the Venezuelan Democratic Action Party on 26 June. (27 Jun 89 p 2)

Iwona Lubowska, Politburo member, chaired a party meeting on work with the intelligentsia under the auspices of the Central Committee Commission for Work with the Intelligentsia Community on 21 June. (22 Jun 89 p 2)

Marian Orzechowski, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, attended an anniversary celebration at the offices of the monthly PREZENTACJE in Warsaw on 23 June. (24-25 Jun 89 p 2) He met Central Committee and voivodship party instructors in Warsaw on 26 June. (27 Jun 89 p 2) He received a delegation of Austrian People's Party politicians on 27 June. (28 Jun 89 p 2)

Leszek Miller, Central Committee secretary, visited Skierniewice Voivodship to discuss the building of schools with residents of Bendary on 21 June. (22 Jun 89 p 2) On 23 June, he visited party activists at the "Nowotko" factory in Warsaw. (24-25 Jun 89 p 2) He attended TRYBUNA LUDU Festival events in Warsaw on the weekend of 24-25 June. (26 Jun 89 p 3)

Marian Stepien, Central Committee secretary, met the actor Roman Klosowski on 23 June. (24-25 Jun 89 p 2)

Kazimierz Cypryniak, member of the Central Committee Secretariat, received Stasis Apanavichyus, head of a delegation of the Central Party Control Commission of the Communist Party of Lithuania, on 21 June. (22 Jun 89 p 2)

Tadeusz Olechowski, foreign minister, received the Vatican's Archbishop Fiorenzo Angelini in Warsaw on 21 June. (22 Jun 89 p 2) He received Thomas Klestil of the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who was visiting Poland on 22-23 June. (24-25 Jun 89 p 5) He received Hungarian ambassador Istvan Roska on 23 June. (24-25 Jun 89 p 5) He received a delegation of Austrian People's Party politicians headed by Herbert Schambeck on 27 June. (28 Jun 89 p 4)

RCP Adopts Resolution on Ceausescu Reelection

AU0507134089 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 29 Jun 89 p 1

["Resolution of the Central Committee Plenum on Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Reelection to the Position of Romanian Communist Party Secretary General"]

[Text] The Plenum of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] Central Committee, expressing feelings of high esteem and appreciation, of boundless love and deep gratitude of the Communists, of all working people, in complete accordance with the unanimous will of the whole party and people, decided to submit for debates in the general meetings of all basic organizations in enterprises, institutions, agricultural units, and in every conference of RCP organizations in communes, towns, municipalities, and counties, and within our whole party that, the decision that at the 14th RCP Congress, the most beloved and esteemed son of our nation, the brilliant leader of our party and country, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, be reelected to the high office of party secretary general.

The Central Committee unanimously expresses its firm belief that the reelection of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu—eminent communist militant and ardent patriot, illustrious revolutionary thinker, bold fighter for the attainment of the supreme goals of the workers class, brilliant builder of the new destinies of our country and of the brightest period in the history of our homeland, and an outstanding political personality of our times, who, with self-denial and heroism, for more than 6 decades, has devoted and continues to devote his whole life and activity to the well-being and happiness of the Romanian nation, to the cause of independence, sovereignty, socialism, peace, understanding, and cooperation throughout the world—is the surest guarantee to successfully building the comprehensively developed socialist society on the basis of creatively applying the general principles of scientific socialism to the concrete conditions prevailing in our country, to build the communist future of our homeland, and to ensure Romania's unflinching advance toward the highest peaks of progress and civilization.

While adopting this decision, the RCP Central Committee plenum stresses the decisive role played by our party and state leader in the vast revolutionary, uniform, and uninterrupted process that has been carried out in Romania in the period of glory and greatness that was inaugurated by the Ninth RCP Congress, a decisive moment in the work of building socialism and in the construction of magnificent monuments, which are unparalleled in the multi-millenia old history of our homeland and which—for the pride and satisfaction of the Romanian people—ensured an unequalled brilliancy to the face of our country and a frontranking place and a well-deserved prestige among all the nations of the world.

The renewing, revolutionary, and dynamic process imprinted by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to the socioeconomic process in our country in the bright period that was opened up by the Ninth RCP Congress, has fully marked the healthy and vigorous development of our national economy and the whole work of building socialism in Romania, with the people and for the people.

The Central Committee, also on this occasion, is emphasizing Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's greatly significant merit in defining, in a scientific and uniform way, the general nature and the strategy of each period in the socialist construction and in safeguarding the fundamental principles of socialism, a socialist system that is superior to any form of social organization that have existed so far in the history of mankind.

Our whole party and people pay highest tribute to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's decisive and conclusive contribution to working out realistic and deeply mobilizing programs for the intensive and comprehensive development of our homeland, on the basis of the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution and the new agrarian revolution, that ensure a dynamic pace in increasing the power of economy, industry, and agriculture and ensure the steady improvement of the working people's standard of living and the development of education, science, and culture, as most significant factors in building socialism and communism.

The RCP Plenum highly values the great responsibility with which Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu continuously strengthens our glorious Communist Party—the vital core of our whole nation—and increases its leading, political, and organizational role in the whole process of socialist construction in Romania. It is Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's outstanding merit that he corroborated thoroughly scientific and renewing theses and guidelines on organizing and managing the whose socioeconomic process, on creating a broad and comprehensive system of workers revolutionary democracy, on increasing the role of the workers class—the most progressive class of the society—on perfecting the functions of the state, and on continuously strengthening socialist ownership.

By serving with inexhaustible energy and patriotic devotion the vital interests of our country and people and the cause of building socialism and communism in our country, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has emphatically asserted himself, through words and deeds, as a brilliant promoter of a new way of thinking in international life and as a resolute and consistent defender of the fundamental aspirations of peoples, and penetrated the awareness of the whole mankind as the great hero of peace, understanding, and cooperation among all nations of the world.

In these solemn moments of intensive patriotic feelings, the Central Committee, Communists, and our whole people, in one single voice, express their unflinching wish that, at the 14th Congress, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu be reelected to the supreme position of general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and, under the colors of our glorious party, closely united around their brilliant leader, they express their will to unswervingly continue the magnificent work of building on the soil of our homeland the most just and humane system, the golden dream of mankind—communism!

Ceausescu Receives GDR Trade Union Leader

AU0507195689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1919 GMT 5 Jul 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 5/7/1989—On Wednesday, July 5, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], president of Romania, received Harry Tisch, member of the Political Bureau of the CC [Central Committee] of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany], chairman of the Central Council of the Confederation of Free German Trade Unions, who is paying an experience-swap visit to Romania.

On the occasion, Nicolae Ceausescu was conveyed a cordial salute together with the best wishes on behalf of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the CC of the SED, chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic.

Nicolae Ceausescu thanked and conveyed Erich Honecker a warm salute and the best wishes.

During the talk, emphasis was placed on the relations of friendship and collaboration between the two countries and peoples—including trade union organizations—which develop continuously on the basis of the understandings reached at summit level. Stress was also laid on existing possibilities of further expanding bilateral collaboration on various planes, in the mutual interest, in the interest of the general cause of socialism, of the strengthening of international peace and cooperation.

During the talk, president Nicolae Ceausescu underscored the important role of trade unions in employing the broad framework offered by the revolutionary worker democracy system, as well as the need for them to concert their efforts and cooperate ever more closely for the socialist development of their countries, the implementation of the policy of building socialism and communism, the improvement of the international political climate, the fight for disarmament, peace and social progress.

In that framework, the guest expressed high appreciation for the Romanian people's successes in building the multilaterally developed socialist society.

Dinca Gives Speech to Central Committee Plenum

AU0307085589 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Jun 89 p 2

[Report on "Speech by Comrade Ion Dinca," member of the Political Executive Committee of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee and first deputy prime minister of Romania, at the Central Committee Plenum in Bucharest on 27 June]

[Text] Much beloved and esteemed Comrade Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu, much esteemed Comrade Elena Ceausescu, esteemed comrades: The plenum of the Central Committee of our party has discussed documents of outstanding importance for the unflinching progress of our homeland on the path of the comprehensively developed socialist society and for Romania's advance toward communism, which will raise to a new, qualitatively superior stage all the great achievements obtained by the Romanian people in their most glorious period of its multi-millenia existence, the "Nicolae Ceausescu era."

The plenum is taking place at a time when all our people, fully committed to fulfill the plans and programs for the socioeconomic development of our homeland, work with self-denial and great patriotism to meet with new successes the 45th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation and the 14th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP].

Through the proposal it has adopted, in complete unanimity, the plenum of our party acquires the significance of a magnificent historical moment in the life of our homeland and of our people, which springs from the unanimous wish and desire of our whole nation that, the 14th RCP Congress reelect to the high office of secretary general of our party our brilliant leader and the great hero among the heroes of our nation, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

With deep emotion, I beg you to allow me to voice the feelings of great respect for and profound gratitude to the most beloved son of our homeland, the brilliant revolutionary militant and ardent patriot, genial builder of the present Romania, the frontranking personality of the contemporary communist and workers movement—Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, whose presence at the helm of the party and the country continues to represent the sure guarantees of our unflinching progress, of the complete victory of socialism in our homeland, and of well-being and happiness for our whole nation. That is why, from the bottom of my heart, I express my support for this decision and please, permit me much esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to extend to you respectful and heartfelt wishes for many years of good health and energy in work in the highest party and state office, for the well-being and happiness of our people and for continuously strengthening the independence and sovereignty of our dear homeland—the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Likewise, we pay a respectful homage to Comrade Elena Ceausescu, an outstanding politician and statesman and a scientist of world renown, who has devoted her entire activity to the unswerving implementation of our party and state policy and to the constant prosperity of the Romanian science, education, and culture.

The formulation, orientation, and corroboration of the objective levels planned for the 1991-95 5-year plan—and up to the year 2000-10—reflect the creative, deeply scientific thinking and the revolutionary concept of our party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. In these documents we find the steady concern of our party and state, and of you, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, with creatively applying the general laws and principles of scientific socialism to the concrete conditions prevailing in our country, within the uniform and constant revolutionary process, in which the most advanced social system ever known by mankind—socialism and communism—is asserting itself and is developing.

The Program-Directive for the 14th Congress includes tasks and guidelines of particular importance for ensuring the assertion of the scientific-technological revolution in all areas, increased social labor productivity, high quality products, the strict management and appropriate utilization of raw materials, fuel, and energy, the continuous development of the energy base, and a firm orientation toward highly technical branches and subbranches which can make proper use of materials and social labor, and which ensure the development of international economic relations.

We are deeply grateful to you for the great revolutionary exactingness and scientific thoroughness with which you initiated and have led the elaboration of programs for ensuring the raw material base, energy sources, the increase of our national energy potential, and the independence of all rural localities from an energy point of view, in terms of eliminating every form of waste of our national wealth.

In 1990 and in the next 5-year plan period, the fundamental objective will be the intensive development of our national economy, intensifying efforts to develop our domestic raw material base and energy resources and ensuring their rational utilization with a high level of profitability.

The allocation of a volume of investments totaling 1,600-1,700 billion lei, primarily directed toward achieving the programs for modernizing installations, equipment, and technological production processes will make an important contribution to the socioeconomic development of our country in the next 5-year plan period. During the Ninth 5-Year Plan period, the extractive industry will play an extremely important role in ensuring the necessary conditions for the manysided development of our national economy. Thus, the lignite and brown coal production is planned to reach 80 million tonnes and the excavated pit coal, intended for metallurgical coking coal, to reach 20 million tonnes in 1995....

In the field of oil, gases, and geological research, we have also envisaged increased tasks and these will play an active role in implementing the energy policy of our country, by intensifying geological operations, firmly applying processes which increase the recuperation factor and intensify the exploitation of hydrocarbons on the Black Sea continental shelf.

This year, in 1990, and in the Ninth 5-Year Plan, basic changes will take place in Romania's energy development, by increasing the electrical power production, putting into operation nuclear power plants, expanding the utilization of hydro-electric power, ensuring the appropriate functioning, at the envisaged parameters, of the coal-based thermo-electric plants, and increasing the power profitability while reducing specific consumption of fuel and energy.

Just like all the other sectors of our national economy, mining, oil, geology, power, construction, technical-material supply and management of fixed-assets have made an important contribution to fulfilling the plan indicators in the first 3 and a half years of the current 5-year plan.

I would like to report to the plenum that, apart from the positive results obtained in the first 6 months of this year, a number of shortfalls have been registered in the activity of some units that produce electric and thermal power. These shortfalls have been caused by the low level of utilization of production capacities, particularly of coal-based power plants, by the fact that some units failed to complete new capacities in time and to conclude necessary repairs in time and to a high technical standard, and also by the fact that the ministry and council in charge of this sector and I, myself, have not been properly concerned with the professional training of our personnel and with strengthening order and discipline in this area.

After referring to some shortfalls that occurred in coal production, in the activity of construction-assembly, and in putting new objectives into operation, the speaker said that during the second half of this year action will be taken to eliminate these shortfalls and fulfill the tasks planned for this year.

In the field of technical-material supply, the situation is generally good. It could be even better if the consumption norms, particularly fuel consumption, would not be exceeded.

As a result of the analysis made personally by you Comrade Secretary General and of allocation, through decree, of the weekly electric energy consumption, required measures have been established to ensure the security and stability of the energy-system and to ensure a continuity in supplying electric and thermal power to consumers in our economy.

Concurrently with the efforts made to ensure the required production levels, we will work with utmost responsibility and will see to it that all units make highly responsible use of the energy resources of our national economy, achieve the planned energy production, develop production capacities, and fulfill the programs for modernizing energy units and for increasing the contribution of new and reusable energy sources.

In the period remaining before the end of this year, we will work to eliminate shortfalls in the field of fulfilling the energy program and the investment program, and we will report outstanding achievements to the 14th congress.

Expressing my complete adherence to all the issues submitted for discussions to our plenum and to the decisions that will be adopted, I assure the plenum and you, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, that I will spare no effort to fulfil the tasks bestowed on me by the leadership of our party and state and I will contribute to the exemplary fulfillment of the tasks for this year and for the whole 5-year plan and of the historic decisions that will be adopted by our great communist forum in November—the 14th RCP Congress.

LUMEA Views Budapest 'Anti-Romanian' Event

AU2806081089 Bucharest LUMEA No 25 in Romanian 22 Jun 89 pp 2, 3

[N. Patrascu article: "When the Disparagers of Socialism Are Allowed To Show Their True Face"]

[Text] The conclusions of history are null and void for some people. This is explicable although by no means excusable. The recent events in Hungary—we mean the reburial of certain former Hungarian politicians—which took place within a sociopolitical context marked by the emergence in the public arena of some circles that would have fully deserved political obscureness, demonstrate the still inexhausted resources of some of the most retrograde, irresponsible, and revanchist forces.

It is surely the right and obligation of the Hungarian leadership and of the people of this neighboring country to examine, understand, and assess their own history and, implicitly, the role of certain figures which were active in one or another period of time. When, however, under cover of reassessing the situation and on the basis of a willingly distorted view, efforts are being made to rewrite history by turning this act into an attempt to sap the values of socialism, when the provocation adopted, with unconcealed enthusiasm, a fascist means, and when former irredentist slogans are brought up, then things leave the sphere of demagogy and enter the dangerous area of an overt liquidatorist [lichidatoriste] movement with serious national implications, and obviously even more than that. It came as no surprise whatsoever for the organizers, that the commemoration in Budapest turned into a furious and enthusiastic attack against socialism, against the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, and against the very foundation of the system in Hungary. To eliminate all ambiguities, the stage directors and actors of the event in the Hungarian capital attacked—simultaneously and unbridled—communism in general and, naturally, the Warsaw Pact. This fire was clad in the so-called "reform" doctrine, in the aura of "renewal" whose sole aim it is to dynamite revolutionary achievements, the socialist system, and to return to a time when exploitation, flagrant inequalities, and the trampling of democracy were ... supreme virtues of the sociopolitical and economic activity. Thus overt efforts are being made to revert the wheels of history by manipulating levers that have proved their dangerous nature for both the Hungarian people and for all peoples.

Certainly, the antisocialist and anticommunist actions and the nationalism characterized by frantic chauvinism, displayed with so much frenzy in Budapest, have been and are persistently stimulated by Western "professional" circles in one or another part of the world to continue their long-standing practices. What else could such circles do but justify the conciliatory attitude toward those who are fishing in troubled waters and stimulate attempts at causing disorder and subsequently overtly make covenant with all those who are trying to discredit and attack the assets of socialism.

It is not surprising that such an atmosphere and prevailing framework of revanchist hysteria made room for anti-Romanian provocations. They have long since been part of the panoply of reaction, no matter what its form. Obviously, the partisans of the attacks against our country, the Romanian people, and against the achievements of our socialist nation were the same old mercenaries, the elements which found their political umbilical cord in the Iron-Guardist Movement and later in fascism everywhere. The fact that these declasse professionals were invited to attend the Budapest events, and then allowed to show their true face in accordance with a protocol that does not surprise us, is, however, a serious and dirty insult against the Romanian people, it is an unacceptable provocation, and an act that is flagrantly at variance with the principles and spirit of the Treaty of Romanian-Hungarian Friendship and Cooperation, and with the very norms that should govern international relations.

Such attempts to mystify obvious truths, to slander, and to trample on the inalienable dignity of a nation are an "organic" part and parcel of ... the traditional wave of insults against Romania, which certain circles in the Hungarian People's Republic do not tire to proliferate through all channels, including the press, radio, and television stations. The ambition to sully what is impossible to sully has reached the symptomatic level of hysteria. What is the use of this campaign? The answer is easy. It is nothing but the old method—dressed for the occasion—to create a smokescreen, to distract the attention of the Hungarian public from the thorny and serious problems the solution of which is overdue.

However, the psychological "palliatives" of those leading this parade are not excusable. On the contrary, the indignation of the public in our country is profound and legitimate, especially since such attitudes, means, and maneuvers are contrary to our nature. An anti-Romanian attitude, the exacerbation of chauvinism, and irredentism solve no problem, they do not spare the Hungarian people the pressure of their own priorities, and only outline the irresponsible deterioration of things which have to be approached in the spirit of mutual respect, of reason, and understanding.

It is absolutely obvious that the supreme interests of socialism and of our countries require an immediate halt to any provocative actions and they require that everything be done so that Romanian-Hungarian relations develop in the spirit of cooperation, trust, and good neighborliness, and on the basis of the principles of respect for national independence and sovereignty, full equality of rights, noninterference in domestic affairs, mutual advantage, and on the basis of the other principles laid down in the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance and in other joint documents. Understanding and good-neighborliness presuppose complete renunciation of provocations and diversion; they can but profoundly harm relations between the two countries and block their development prospects.

As the party secretary general and president of the Republic has repeatedly emphasized, the Romanian Communists and Socialist Romania unflinchingly proceed from understanding the need to continue to do everything to overcome the problems that have emerged. "The interest of the Romanian people and of the Hungarian people," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized, "is to live in good neighborliness and to cooperate actively in all areas in order to build socialism, improve their standard of living, and ensure the independence of each nation. Only thus will we appropriately serve the interests of both the Romanian nation and those of the Hungarian nation, as well as the interests in international peace and cooperation."

Closely united around the party and enthusiastically building socialism, the Romanian people are firmly determined—as masters in their own country and as a free and independent nation—to promote through deeds, as they have done so far, the assets of the most dignified system, to consolidate its achievements, and to contribute, in the spirit of justice and equity, to the achievement of the best and most just world.

Impressive meetings of working people have taken place in industrial and agricultural units in numerous counties throughout the country and in Bucharest Municipality. At these meetings, workers, engineers, foremen, technicians, cooperative farmers, mechanizers of Romanian and Hungarian origin joined voices in firmly condemning the serious antisocialist, revisionist, and anti-Romanian events in Budapest on 16 June. During the meetings, the participants clearly and firmly emphasized that they completely endorse and support the official protest sent by the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic in connection with what happened in Budapest at the end of last week.

Events in Hungary Reported by Foreign Press

AU2806173389

[Editorial Report] Bucharest LUMEA No 25 in Romanian on 22 June on pages 3 and 4, carries a 300-word report on a critical article on Imre Nagy's reburial in Budapest published by the CSSR paper RUDE PRAVO and entitled "A Sumptuous Funeral Ceremony Held According to the Script of the Opposition"; a 400-word report on a MAGYAR HIRLAP interview with Robert Ribanszki, leader of the "Platform of Marxist Unity of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party" (MSZMP) entitled "Positions of the Platform of the MSZMP Marxist Unity on Some Topical Issues of the Hungarian People's Republic"; and a 400-word report on a NEPSZABADSAG outline of Ribanszki's speech at a workers' meeting of the "Platform of the MSZMP Marxist Unity" entitled "NEPSZABADSAG—Central Organ of the MSZMP—on the New Workers' Meeting Organized by the 'Platform of Marxist Unity.'"

The RUDE PRAVO item on page 3 is cited as emphasizing that "none of the fraternal countries, including Czechoslovakia, has anything against the efforts of renewal of socialism in Hungary and against the clarification of some 'blank spots' in that country's history." In connection with Imre Nagy's reburial, RUDE PRAVO is cited as saying that "despite our desire to understand," the statements of the speakers at the funeral ceremony "cannot be applauded because they attacked the MSZMP, the USSR, and socialism in general."

The MAGYAR HIRLAP interview with Robert Ribanszki on page 4 reports the latter as saying, "I have stood and I stand witness to the fact that the 1956 events were a counterrevolution," and that "the reassessment of the 1956 events serves topical political aims and contains hidden thoughts and intentions." Ribanszki is reported to emphasize that in his view "the MSZMP has not committed so many mistakes as to be predestined" to face an "organized opposition," that "there will not be a multiparty system in Hungary, but a well-organized antisocialist and anticommunist movement," and that "the aim of the 'Platform of Marxist Unity' is to prevent this from happening."

The NEPSZABADSAG report on Ribanszki's speech at a workers' meeting organized by the "Platform of Marxist Unity" on page 4 quotes him as discussing "the situation of the party, the basic values of socialist society, the need to preserve these values, and the aims of the Platform of Marxist Unity." The speaker is cited as "sharply criticizing the attacks against the appeal of the Platform of Marxist Unity," emphasizing that "the social ideas of the Platform have been grossly distorted," and that the aim of the Platform of Marxist Unity is to ensure "the party's unity and its consolidation." Ribanszki is also quoted as criticizing the party "not only for taking political action without consulting its members," but also for "making radical decisions at variance with its base and with the class interests of the workers." He is also cited as stressing that "we do not agree with the tendency of the intellectual and political leaders of reformist circles who, instead of creating a real power of the working people, under the pretext of reform actually urge a change in system, the restoration of capitalism." According to NEPSZABADSAG, Ribanszki demanded that "this problems be discussed by the Central Committee" and that "appropriate decisions be made."

Leaders' Public Appearances for 24-30 Jun

AU0107194789

[Editorial Report] Romanian media report the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the 24-30 June period (source of each report given in parentheses):

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania, Elena Ceausescu, member of the Political Executive Committee (PEC) of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP) Central Committee, Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly (GNA), Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Romanian Government, Manea Manescu, PEC member, and Elena Pugna, RCP Central Committee member, attended the GNA opening session in Bucharest on 29 June. (Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0800 GMT 29 Jun 89)

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, opened and addressed an RCP plenum in Bucharest on 27 June. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1837 GMT 27 Jun 89); on the same day he received separately the new DPRK ambassador to Romania Mun Pyong-nok (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1805 GMT 27 Jun 89) and departing Singapore Ambassador Chiang Hai Ding. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1812 GMT 27 Jun 89) On 28 June, Nicolae Ceausescu attended and addressed the concluding session of the RCP plenum in Bucharest. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1310 GMT 28 Jun 89) On 30 June Ceausescu received outgoing Philippines envoy, Ernesto Querubin (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1915 GMT 30 Jun 89) and met with George Hewison, general secretary of the Communist Party of Canada in Bucharest. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1845 GMT 30 Jun 89)

Stefan Andrei, deputy prime minister of Romania met with U.S. businessmen in Bucharest on 30 June. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1900 GMT 30 Jun 89)

Nicolae Constantin, member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee, met with DPRK leader Kim Il-song in Pyongyang on 30 June. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1907 GMT 30 Jun 89)

Manea Manescu, member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee, addressed an RCP Plenum in Bucharest on 27 Jun 89. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2220 GMT 27 Jun 89)

Loncar Talks With Iran's Velayati in Belgrade

LD0507232689 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2134 GMT 5 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, July 5 (TANJUG)—The development of Belgrade-Tehran relations, preparations for the ninth non-aligned summit and some current international topics were in the focus of talks held here Wednesday evening between Yugoslav and Iranian foreign ministers, Budimir Loncar and 'Ali Akbar Velayati.

The two ministers said that bilateral relations are developing well but that economic cooperation could be considerably better. In this regard both sides expressed hope that trade would be supplemented by industrial cooperation, technology transfer and other more contemporary types of economic linkage. Loncar told Velayati that the Yugoslav economy would be willing to participate more in the Iranian revival development programs.

The two foreign ministers mainly focused on the preparations for the ninth non-aligned summit, which will be held in Belgrade in September. The Yugoslav side described how it views the non-aligned movement in the framework of the new international conditions, marked by the agreement between the superpowers and multipolarisation, but (?also) of the increasingly serious problems of the developing countries.

Yugoslavia believes that the movement should be modernized and that it should more efficaciously respond to all changes in international relations in order to be an influential factor in the settlement of the key world issues and problems.

Velayati said that Iran accepts and supports such Yugoslav stands and expressed Tehran's wish to continue cooperation with Yugoslavia.

The Iranian foreign minister was noticeably optimistic about the just ended round of Iran-Iraq talks in Geneva, which are conducted under the auspices of the UN secretary general.

Regarding Afghanistan, both sides called, following on the Soviet withdrawal and in keeping with the Geneva talks, for more efforts for the speedier calming of the situation in this focuses of crises.

IRNA Reports Talks

LD0607084889 Tehran IRNA in English
0805 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, July 6, IRNA—Foreign minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati who arrived here Wednesday [5 July] heading a high-ranking delegation held first round of talks with his Yugoslav counterpart Budimir Loncar.

An informed sources said the talks were held in a friendly atmosphere and centered on bilateral cooperation, the Iraq-Iran war and other regional issues including Afghanistan.

They also discussed cooperation in the nonaligned movement and ways of strengthening it.

Velayati arrived here for a two-day visit after attending the disarmament conference meeting in Geneva.

Talks between the two foreign ministers are to continue Thursday and Velayati is scheduled to meet the Yugoslav president.

Velayati in an interview in Geneva Wednesday said U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar could not settle the Iraq-Iran issue on his own and the Security Council must strongly back him.

He said after a year of talks between Iranian and Iraqi delegations since the ceasefire, there had been no concrete outcome and the talks had not been effective.

"The Security Council should take immediate actions for return of (Iraqi) forces to international borders and treat the defying party in accordance with...Resolution 598," said Valayati.

"The illegal Iraqi occupation of 2,000 sq kms of Iranian territory has halted the peace trend and caused tension."

Velayati reiterated that Iran was for peace and good neighborly relations with Iraq adding that the first step in this direction was for Iraq to pull out its forces from Iran.

Asked on the possibility of renewal of the war if the peace talks went on for several years, he said the region was highly sensetive and therefore, the problems must be sorted out.

On Iran's relations with the U.S. he said one could not speak of relations even a year after the tragic downing of an Iran air passenger plane by the U.S. Navy over the Persian Gulf.

"The U.S. has not even extended an apology and has not paid any compensation, which it had said it would," he said.

Asked whether U.S. payment of compensation would help change Iran's stand and secure release of U.S. hostages in Lebanon, Velayati said these were not related issues.

Loncar Expresses Concern to U.S. Ambassador

LD0507215989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1950 GMT 5 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, July 5 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar Wednesday expressed surprise and concern to U.S. Ambassador in Belgrade Warren Zimmermann over the adoption in the U.S. Congress of an amendment which incorrectly, one-sidedly and tendentiously treats certain aspects of the situation in Yugoslavia.

Pointing out that this is not in keeping with the Yugoslav-U.S. relations, developed over the decades, Loncar said that this and other instances ignore the essence of the problem in Kosovo, i.e. the position of the Serbs and Montenegrins and others over a longer period. At the same time, persistently is ignored the fact that the ethnic Albanians enjoy equal rights within the Yugoslav constitutional order and that the Kosovo Province has full autonomy.

The U.S. step, Loncar said, objectively encourages the Albanian nationalists and separatists in Kosovo, which is contrary to the U.S. statements regarding its support to the sovereignty and integrity of Yugoslavia.

The concern of the Yugoslav Government, Loncar underscored, is the greater because the U.S. step came at the moment when Yugoslavia is making great efforts in the implementation of reforms on a democratic basis. The foreign minister recalled the Yugoslav achievements in the human rights sphere, especially in the United Nations and the conference on security and cooperation in Europe (CSCE), within which Yugoslavia is one of the creators of the final document.

The U.S. ambassador expressed his dissociation noting that it is a question of the stand of the U.S. House of Representatives and that the procedure has not ended. He said that the U.S. Government did not directly (?participate) in the procedure for adopting the controversial amendment.

Loncar concluded that every governments bears its part of the responsibility for the policy of its country, just like all embassies should realistically depict the situation in the country in which they are located.

Loncar on European Council Assembly Decision

AU0607131789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 1-2 Jul 89 p 11

[Unattributed report: "A Step Toward Europe"]

[Text] The decision of the European Council Assembly to grant Yugoslavia the status of a special guest is an "innovation" which, among other things, confirms that the European Council, which used to be ideologically colored, has started to respond to the efforts made to surmount divisions and to open itself to the East. This was stated by Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, who was asked by BORBA to comment on this initiative, which was on the agenda of today's session of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly.

The European Council, Loncar continued, has also offered the status of special guest to the USSR, Poland, and Hungary. In contrast to these countries, Yugoslavia has had a kind of sui generis cooperation with the European Council for decades. We are the signatories of five conventions and are in the process of negotiating an additional 30, among which the key convention is the one concerning human freedoms. The status of special guest will enable Yugoslavia to establish closer ties with the council, Loncar said, adding that this kind of initiative will increase the credibility of the European Council, which would in turn have an effect on the evolution of events on the European scene.

Gracanin Meets Hungarian Interior Minister

LD0107083989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1538 GMT 30 Jun 89

[Text] Becej, 30 Jun (TANJUG)—Today in Becej Petar Gracanin, Federal Executive Council member and Federal Secretary for Internal Affairs, had a meeting with Dr Istavan Horvath, Minister of Interior of the Hungarian People's Republic, within the framework of the regular exchange of views and agreements about a further improvement of the cooperation between internal affairs bodies of the two neighboring and friendly countries.

Gracanin and Horvath reportedly assessed that the talks were mutually beneficial and that they contributed to a further development of overall bilateral relations. Areas and methods of a future cooperation, which will be carried out in particular in the prevention of international terrorism and other forms of organized international crime, were discussed in detail.

Since international terrorism is assuming increasingly important dimensions the two sides expressed mutual readiness that security bodies, in accordance with the known Yugoslav and Hungarian stances, undertake all measures and apply all efforts to curb it.

Counteraction of all actions which jeopadrize human lives and property, it was stressed, is in the joint interest, as well as having importance for the security of Europe and the world.

The talks stressed that particularly good results have been achieved in cooperation between border organs in ensuring border security and traffic movement by means of direct contacts between experts on certain aspects of the work of internal affairs bodies.

Serbia Official Criticizes Slovenian Leadership

AU0307190789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jun 89 p 6

["Reaction" by Dr Petar B. Mandic, secretary of the Commission for Ideological and Theoretical Work of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, to the conclusions adopted by the League of Communists of Slovenia at Tacen near Ljubljana on 17 June]

[Text] The children's diseases of "the right" have seriously been attacking the ideological being of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] for some time. Some of its parts are particularly vulnerable to these diseases. At one time these diseases strongly shook the League of Communists [LC] of Croatia, the LC of Kosovo, and the LC of Vojvodina in the form of nationalist separatism and autonomism [autonomastvo]. Now, judging by everything, it is the LC of Slovenia that is considerably affected by these diseases.

The Slovene LC leadership, which in the eyes of the public until not so long ago had been an ardent protagonist of democratic reforms and a "fighter" against bureaucratic centralism, has revealed its true face with its recent statement. The Slovene LC had clearly spotted all the weaknesses of the LCY and used them to implement the policies which it openly advocates today. However, it has abused the LCY's admission that the LC as the "party in power" is the greatest culprit in the bureaucratization of society. The LCY's self-criticism has been used by the "party right" in the Slovene LC to hoist its ideological flag, under which it is trying to gather together all those who wish to push the LCY from the political scene and advance "democracy" without the LCY.

In this context, it is promoting a thesis that self-management and national equality are incompatible with the vanguard role of the LCY. The myth about the need to strengthen national sovereignty, as regards both the state and the party, is used by the "party right" in the Slovene LC as the basis for launching the thesis on the need to organize the LCY on federalist foundations and replace democratic centralism with consensus democracy. This myth, which could have been more or less anticipated even earlier, was clearly presented at the last session of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium. If it is known that the Presidium of the Central Committee is in fact the leadership of the Slovene Communists, then it is obvious that the "right" has overwhelmingly won the party leadership of this republic itself.

Anti-Civilization [anticivilizacijski] Concept

Rejecting the concept of organization on the principle of democratic centralism, the "party right" in the Slovene LC offers a new opportunistic-reformist concept and opposes unity in the LCY based on democratic centralism with a nationalist-particularist concept and consensus democracy. According to this concept, the republican organizations should have "absolute" autonomy and independence in relation to the LCY. They would operate as sovereign parties and would have the right to behave as the minority, without being obliged to carry out the majority's decisions. The Slovene LC leadership has declared democratic centralism to be an anachronism, irreconcilable with contemporary trends to democratize the LCY. This is why it was suggested that democratic centralism should be replaced by or combined with consensus democracy. The institutionalization of the right of the minority is elevated as the greatest democratic value, while the federalization of the LCY is considered to be an essential prerequisite for the further development of democracy and the realization of national equality and sovereignty. It is obvious that the Slovene party leadership is playing with the LCY.

The concept of democracy offered by the Slovene LC leadership has a basically anti-civilization nature. What kind of democracy is democracy which negates the basic civil and political rights of man to elect and to be elected. One man one vote is the basic feature of democracy and civil rights. This is used to lay the foundation for contemporary democratic civilization which represents the basis for any further deliberation about democracy. The Slovene LC leadership has overlooked this fact and thinks that practicing this principle will result in the majority outvoting the minority.

The question is: In the name of which democratic principles is the Slovene leadership demanding that one Slovene is equal to five Serbs or three Croats? Fighting against the potential danger of the minority being outvoted by the majority, the Slovene leadership does not want to admit that it is, in fact, fighting for the hegemony of the minority over the majority. It is a well-known fact that this principle has been abandoned in all democratic systems and civilizations.

Or let us consider the call for the absolute autonomy of the republican LC organizations and their accountability: How can the parts of one entirety possibly have absolute autonomy? Every organization, including the LCY, consists of several parts. The main condition for every organization's existence is that the interests of its parts must be in harmony with the interests of the organization as a whole, which is to say that individual wishes and interests must be harmonized with the collective wishes and the unified interests of the whole, interests which contain the interests of all parts.

The refeudalization of Yugoslavia and the particularization of the LCY does not and cannot serve democratization. The border between the "left" and the "right" in the communist movement is drawn too well for somebody like the Slovene LC leadership to offer us an opportunistic-separatist concept of democracy and organization of society, with the LCY as a revolutionary alternative.

How is it possible to institutionalize the accountability of the republican and provincial LC's in carrying out a unified LCY policy if the principle of democratic centralism as the basis for establishing this accountability is ignored. The accountability of the parts with respect to the whole presupposes respect for the wishes and opinions of the majority in relation to the minority. Ignoring this law marks the time when the organization is entering a crisis whose outcome can lead to its disintegration.

Separatist Formula for Unity

Therefore, democratic centralism does not have an alternative. The use of consensus to solve some essential issues on which national equality depends is not a problem, provided that this exception is not turned into a rule. However, equality within the unified LCY—equality which is used to build democratic unity and which enables the parts to achieve individuality within the unified LCY—is one thing, while the republican LC organizations' autonomy, which would lead to independence and which would include the right to secede, is another. Equality strengthens unity, while autonomy understood as the right to dissidence destroys it.

In view of the possibility that the minority will not respect the stands of the majority, the minority's accountability to the majority is virtually impossible. This accountability can be expected in words, but cannot be used for organizational purposes. If democratic centralism is not respected, the accountability of the parts for their conduct in the process of carrying out the LCY policy can only be established as their accountability to the republican workers class, rather than to the workers class as a whole. This is a separatist formula of accountability which is destroying unity in the LCY.

Therefore, the plea of the Slovene party leadership for the absolute autonomy and accountability of the Slovene Communists cannot be seen in any other way than as a call for the separation of the Slovene LC from the LCY and its elevation into a completely independent organization.

The stands of the Slovene LC are undoubtedly removing the mask from the face of the Slovene party leadership. Now it is obvious that the Slovene party leadership is not fighting for the democratization of the LCY and the preservation of its unity, but in fact for the breakup of its unity. The resolute stands of the Slovene LC leadership obviously represent a well-thought-out and planned action which the Slovene leadership intends to finalize at the 14th Congress of the LCY. Therefore, the uncertainty over the results of the 14th congress, which we are convening in order to achieve greater ideological unity in the LCY, could have adverse results and turn the congress into a congress which would further deepen the crisis in the LCY and lead to its total schism.

This is why these stands of the Slovene LC represent a great challenge for the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium. If we fail to thwart the Slovene party leadership's tendencies, the crisis concerning the trust in the LCY and its leadership will grow even bigger. However, considering the unfavorable balance of powers in the leading LCY organs, the existing opportunism, and the possibility of unprincipled coalitions being formed with regard to qualification of the essence of the Slovene ultimatum, it is difficult to expect that the party leadership of the country will have enough strength to stop the Slovene leadership's intention to break up the LCY.

VJESNIK on Milosevic's Gazi Mestan Speech

AU0507100489 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 30 Jun 89 p 3

[Vjekoslav Krsnik commentary: "Threats and Cautions"]

[Text] Remaining true to himself and his political program, as shown by the political reality since he appeared as the inviolable leader of Serbia with pretentions of also being the leader of all Serbs, Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Serbia, did not miss a unique opportunity at the festivities marking the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo, to use some of his statements to, to put it mildly, stimulate the confusion and anxiety that regularly appear after each of his speeches.

It goes without saying that the celebrations which gathered together such a huge mass of people, unprecedented in this century, had a Yugoslav character and that they were attended by the most senior representatives of the federation and all the republics and provinces. The Battle of Kosovo and its anniversary was in this respect the ideal occasion to point out through its example and ethic its universal character in both a South Slav and European context. If bands of the other peoples from the region of present-day Yugoslavia also took part in the Battle of Kosovo along side the Serbs—which has been historically confirmed—could this fact not be mentioned at least in passing without mentioning the topical conclusions which could have been drawn for the present situation. Slobodan Milosevic did indeed mention this in the following quote: "Equal and harmonious relations among Yugoslav peoples (nationalities were left out—Vjekoslav Krsnik) are a necessary condition for its economic and social prosperity.... The developed world is more and more marked by national tolerance, national cooperation, and even national equality" (why the "even"? —Vjekoslav Krsnik).

The president of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia offended in a certain way the honor and dignity of millions of viewers watching on television, not to mention the official representatives at the festivities themselves, when he finished his speech with the cry "Long live Yugoslavia." If one wants to be consistent, one cannot criticize him as president of the SR of Serbia for describing the republic that he heads only as Serbia, but when it comes to Yugoslavia, at an official occasion like the one in Gazi Mestan, it is a great error and certainly an intentional one not to mention the official name of the federation of which Serbia is a member. Despite some desires to create a new Yugoslavia, the present Yugoslavia still exists as the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and anyone who omits these three attributes on such occasions, and particularly when we are talking about Slobodan Milosevic, does not do this without reason.

This error is even more obvious when it is linked with the sentence in his speech which went: "Six centuries later, now, we are engaged in battles and are facing battles. They are not armed battles although such things cannot be excluded yet." What is Slobodan Milosevic aiming at at a time when the whole world is on the threshold of new understanding between ideological and military blocs and only old dogmatic forces want with all their might and even weapons to halt the wheel of history.

Who in this country, which has had such a bloody history, including the Battle of Kosovo as a part of that martyrdom, again needs incitements to "blood and soil." After all, why did Slobodan Milosevic again interrupt himself when he said a few sentences further on: "Our chief battle now concerns implementing the economic, political, cultural, and general social prosperity." If this is so then why was it at all necessary to mention "armed battles" which "cannot be excluded yet." Particularly since Serbia does not belong only to Yugoslavia which has the least need of such "armed battles" but to an increasingly unified Europe which, while symbolically destroying the so-called "iron curtain"—something that in fact happened on the Austrian-Hungarian border on the day that this anniversary of European importance was being celebrated in Gazi Mestan—is moving toward the 21st century. Slobodan Milosevic rightly stressed that "today it appears not only unjust but even unhistorical and completely absurd to talk about Serbia's belonging to Europe. It has been a part of Europe incessantly, now just as much as it was in the past, of course in its own way."

This is undoubtedly true and undeniable. It is precisely because of this that is "unhistorical and completely absurd" in the present European times to mention at all "battles" which are "not armed, although such things cannot be excluded." Serbia, and with it Yugoslavia, cannot enter present-day Europe with such a philosophy. That is at least clear.

Slovene Assembly Condemns Nationalist Strife

LD0207223589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1530 GMT 2 Jul 89

[Text] Crnomelj, 2 Jul (TANJUG)—The way out of the crisis does not lie in the search for compromises between various forms of nationalism in Yugoslavia, stressed Miran Potrc, president of the Slovenian Socialist Republic Assembly at a celebration in Crnomelj today to mark Veterans' Day. He warned that by their tendency toward exclusiveness, mutual accusations, and fomenting passions, various nationalisms could cause very tragic and bloody consequences.

In Potrc's view, everything possible should be done to avoid this. Those who incite their own people against others are of no help. Those who blame only others for their own difficulties cannot help in creating conditions for equal coexistence in Yugoslavia. Those who want to impose their interests by force must expect resistance.

Potrc said that anyone who strives toward a different Yugoslavia should not count on us in his efforts. A Yugoslavia in which human and national rights are not guaranteed, in which political monopoly, national supremacy, and exploitation exist, in which there is no self-management based decisionmaking and workers' right to take part in the process of decisionmaking with regard to the vital issues of their work and their economic and social rights would not be contrary to the will of the Slovene people alone. To put it simply, such a Yugoslavia cannot exist. It would be good if we were all aware of it, he concluded.

Slovene Socialist Alliance Adopts Basic Charter

AU0107164489 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 28 Jun 89 p 3

[Unattributed boxed report]

[Text] **The Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Slovenia, at its fifth session on 27 June 1989, discussed and adopted the following text:**

The Basic Charter of Slovenia of 1989

The Slovenes, Italians, Hungarians, and other citizens of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, signatories of this charter, publish and declare that:

1. We want to live in a democratic state of the sovereign Slovene people and all the citizens of Slovenia, founded on human rights and civil freedoms. In this state we ensure: the rule of labor, and of the law, and independence of civil society; free association and political pluralism; democratic elections; equality of all the minorities; freedom of all forms of economic development balanced with natural constraints; links with Europe and the world.

2. We will live only in a Yugoslavia that will assure the sovereignty and the permanent and inalienable right to self-determination of the peoples, equality of all the nationalities and the minorities, that will respect and protect the differences of all, and in which we will regulate our vitally important common affairs on the principle of unanimity, and only in such self-managing socialism that will fully take into account the demands of this charter.

3. We do not want to live in a state community in which the respect for the Constitution and the laws, and thus for human and national rights, is not assured, in which we would be subjected to political monopoly or national hegemony, economic exploitation, or other imposed forms of political, economic, and cultural life.

With our signatures, the proposers and the signatories of this charter promise to persist on its principles. We impose the obligation on all in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia who have been given legal power, to implement this common people's will in the constitutional reforms and in all the political activities in Slovenia and in the SFRY.

Ljubljana, 27 June 1989.

Bosnian Presidency Member Boglcevic Interviewed

AU0307112689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Jun 89 p 4

["Exclusive" interview with Bogic Bogicevic, new SFRY Presidency member from Bosnia-Hercegovina, by Enver Demirovic—in Velika Kladusa, on 27 Jun]

[Text] Sarajevo, 27 Jun—Only several minutes after the results of the Sunday [25 June] elections for the member of the SFRY Presidency from the Socialist Republic [SR] of Bosnia-Hercegovina were announced, we talked with the winner, Bogic Bogicevic, M.A. We have him at the Communal Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Velika Kladusa where he, a member of the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina, is paying a working visit to that institution, the town, and the Agrokomerc Combine.

Thanks to the good telephone line from the Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina from where we called him, the conversation went almost as if it had been "live." After congratulating him we asked Bogicevic how he feels about the pleasant news.

[Bogicevic] I am happy. I did not expect it to happen, honestly.

[Demirovic] Why?

[Bogicevic] Well, according to the "ratings" compiled by the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance, I occupied third place and received considerably fewer votes than the other two (Ceranic and Kalinic), whom I respect very much. I am also much younger.

[Demirovic] Nevertheless, you have become the first among equals with an enviable number of votes more than the others.

[Bogicevic] Now I see that this is so. I must say that I am both happy and excited. However, if any of the other candidates had been elected it would have been the perfect choice. I am not saying this out of courtesy. They have proven themselves to be high quality cadres with an undoubtedly Yugoslav orientation.

[Demirovic] Almost 70 percent of the electorate, nearly 2 million people voted, and you received 609,258 votes, that is one-third. What do you think about that?

One Cannot Live From Promises

[Bogicevic] I am very glad about the first figure. That is a very good response in this situation. You know, there have been all sorts of rumors, even about "boycotting" the elections. I am glad that the majority of working people and citizens has manifested such an enviable level of democratic and self-managing consciousness. All the more so because after almost 20 years this has been the first such democratic contest among candidates for high posts before the people. This is why this victory is so dear to me.

[Demirovic] It is perhaps too early to ask you whether you already picture yourself in the role of member of the collective head of state although you are almost there, but at least tell us whether you remain by what you promised in the press and television that you would do if you were elected?

[Bogicevic] How could it be different, unless I "arrive at" other ideas. Therefore, there can only be more, not less. Of course, everything that I said should be elaborated once again and then start working. Because, one cannot live from promises and desires. Generations to come will judge our deeds....

[Demirovic] And what would that be as concerns the present situation in Yugoslavia?

[Bogicevic] First of all, one should stop the divisions and that is the first condition for reaching agreements on finding a way out of the political, social, economic, and every other crisis. Therefore, we, all of us, should make Yugoslavia stand firmly again. In other words, let me repeat what I have already said in my, conditionally speaking, election program: We must put a strong Yugoslavia, strong associated labor, an undivided workers class, and strong republics and provinces in the foreground. We certainly cannot achieve that through proclamations issued by our state and political bodies, or by individual people, whatever their position. We can achieve unity only by developing a modern market economy, through the democratization of society, openness in work, political pluralism—but pluralism of opinion, not parties, and opening the "market" of ideas in a democratic socialist front. One should abandon the practice in which the party interferes in state and self-managing business, turn toward more modern scientific and technological achievements, overcome differences between towns and villages, and give ecology the significance that belongs to it. This is the way that, in my opinion, one will best develop and protect brotherhood and unity, national equality, Yugoslavia, and all its peoples and nationalities. Here, I have repeated my program to you. One should now only roll up one's sleeves.

Agrokomerc Will Start Up Again

[Demirovic] You are ready for that?

[Bogicevic] I feel that I am and I must appreciate the confidence working people and citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina showed in me and I feel this to be a great obligation. In any case, I shall do my best not to disappoint them.

[Demirovic] Your election to the SFRY Presidency has made this highest body much younger. Together with Drnovsek and Tupurkovski you form the "group of three" youngest top Yugoslav statesmen. What do you think about that?

[Bogicevic] I think that that is good. It is a kind of recognition of a generation. It is now our turn to confirm the meaning and justifiability of such a choice and of the people's saying that "the world belongs to the young."

[Demirovic] Since we are discussing the people and confidence again, and it is good that we are, do you think that elections could have been conducted in this way in the past, too?

[Bogicevic] It would have been good if they had been. This general, direct, and secret ballot of working people and citizens on the candidates for the member of SFRY Presidency from the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina is a great step forward. People are now able to express their opinion, to show confidence in those people they want, but they also want to withdraw their confidence from those people who are not up to their expectations. I also view my own responsibility in this cntext to carry out the duties for which the people "recommended" me to the Assembly of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

[Demirovic] The news about the results of the election reached you here in Velika Kladusa, one could say outside the front door of Agrokomerc which you will visit and where you will of course hold talks with its workers. What will you say to them?

[Bogicevic] That everything is not as black as it seems here. One only needs to work, produce, and overcome the situation. There are also good signs that things will start moving here as well. I am convinced of this because of, among other things, the turn-out of Velika Kladusa people at the polling stations, with a percentage of a solid 62 percent of the voters. Nevertheless, it seems to me that there are quite a few expectations and thoughts here in Velika Kladusa and Agrokomerc about the profitability of production and providing working capital. I am afraid that a lot of time is being lost....

[Demirovic] Will you point this out to the Agrokomerc workers?

[Bogicevic] That is unavoidable!

The People Are Capable of Deciding

[Demirovic] Finally, Comrade Bogicevic, two more short questions in one: What effects do you expect the direct, general, and secret voting by the working people and citizens for the SFRY Presidency member from Bosnia-Hercegovina to have on the delegate elections next year and how do you view the role and place of the media in this?

[Bogicevic] It is good that you have asked me this "two-part" question and I will answer it willingly. As far as this is concerned, I want to say that these elections, undoubtedly the most democratic ones ever, are a splendid "prelude" to the elections for the delegate assemblies in 1990 which I believe will be a new step in the development of our democratic electoral system. Last Sunday the people showed that they are ready and able to make decisions themselves about everything, and with an enviable response to carrying out their civil duty, and to refute much of what I would say unnecessarily burdens our reality. How else can one interpret the figure, the exact fact that a total of 5.78 percent of the ballot papers were invalid.

Some people were obviously deceiving themselves in pre-election estimates when they forecast that this percentage would be far greater. As regards the media, in my opinion, it undoubtedly made a huge contribution to democratization and the successful implementation of these elections. However, I personally think that these elections were also a "prelude" for the press, radio, and television to their full involvement in the further democratization of our electoral system, particularly prior to the delegate elections next year but also in all other wider areas. An analysis of these elections will certainly be welcomed by everyone, as well as by the media in giving an assessment of their own contribution to the democratization and development of society in the crisis which we can only overcome by using joint forces. Therefore, with everyone's involvement! I have not noticed many dissonant chords in the general mood for this or a similar commitment. This is definitely encouraging.

Uzelac Discusses Preparations for LCY Congress

LD2906221589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1110 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Summary] Sarajevo, 29 Jun (TANJUG)—Today in Sarajevo, the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists [LC] Central Committee adopted the proposed preparations for the organization and work of the 10th congress of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC, which will be held in November this year. In the introductory speech, Milan Uzelac, member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC

Central Committee Presidium, said that the next congress of the LC of this republic should be a congress of initiatives and opening-up of perspectives.

"Milan Uzelac stressed the great responsibility for the preparations, outlooks and results of the 14th LCY Congress, especially when relations between parts of the LC are exacerbated, which narrows the space for the successful work and results of the congress. There are just a few encouraging bits of news about overcoming differences regarding the preparations for the forthcoming congress, he said, but there are numerous instances of conditions being set, such as statements about in what kind of League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] some of its parts will not belong to, in what kind of the SFRY some republics will not belong, what concept of democratic centralism some republican organizations will not accept, etc.

"It is unrealistic to expect the 14th congress to eliminate all the troubles, tensions and clashes, as if they did not exist. At the same time, not to draw attention to them Uzelac says, means to reconcile oneself to the prospect that the 14th congress will only confirm disunity and turn into reality tendencies toward federalism. Members of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC, and I am convinced that members of the LCY too, do not accept such perspective, Uzelac said and added that the tasks of the 14th LCY Congress will impose the need and opportunity for delegates of the 10th congress of the Bornia-Hercegovina LC to gather after the LCY congress and establish their action plans for the implementation of the tasks."

Croatian Plenum Views Reform, Falling Membership

AU3006083289 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jun 89 p 5

[S. Vranic, G. Gojak report: "With the Eyes of the Movement and Not of the State"]

[Text] Zagreb, 27 Jun—After 9 hours of work, the 27th session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Croatia ended in Zagreb last night. At it the directions for the activities of this republic's Communists for the more effective achievement of the aims of economic reform were discussed.

"We will certainly have to define much more open ideopolitical questions but also deal with a number of practical measures and steps on the social agenda before the congress," said Drago Dimitrovic. In this context he accepted, as he said, the assessment of Marin Bugla that the possible radicalizations are in conflict with various concepts, but he also warned that the problem does not lie in the bipolar structure but in fact in quite a large number of options which are now on the Yugoslav scene. The reforms in socialism are taking place in different ways and there are not only problems of relations between reforming and anti-reforming forces within the socialist project but also other options.

"We in Croatia," said Dimitrovic,"are under clear pressure from a public which is demanding a democratic step in transforming society and reproaching us correspondingly for the existence of quite a lot of vagueness about how to act in order to take this step."

Decreasing Membership

Speaking about the crisis in the LC, Boris Malada warned that it is also being reflected in the departure of the party membership. This was demonstrated in the example of the Split party organization which in 1986 received two members for every three that left; in 1987 it received one member for every five that left the LC; in 1988 it received one member for every 11 that left, while in the first 4 months of this year 44 members left the LC for every one that became a member.

"Is this not," asked Malada, "the price that the LC must pay in the process of reform. I think that this is not a price provided that we get to grips with the essence of the figures. That is, trends are similar in the whole of Croatia but also in developed Slovenia which has considerably fewer problems than our republic. The problem is that we look on reform with the eyes of the leadership of the state party and less with those of the leadership of the party of the movement. Thus, we are systematically losing the membership and if we continue our discussions we will be in the position where we will lose the public all together."

Concluding the debate, Stanko Stojcevic, president of the Presidium of the Croatian LC Central Committee, pointed out that some key dilemmas should be answered before the next congress but a way should also be found to turn the basic orientations of the first conference into operative programs. In this sense it could be said that the federal government's program also proceeds from these basic orientations. Of course, it is not the task of this LC to assess this program. This is the task and the duty of the federal assembly but for their part, Communists can contribute, each in their own community, to creating a climate for implementing this program. However, we should not only depend on what the federal government will do and which measures it will take. An initiative is necessary in every work community because without it there will be no reforming steps.

Intensified Conflicts

Further on in the session, the members of the Central Committee of the LC of Croatia discussed the draft of the report concerning the period between the 10th and 11th congresses. Several specific comments were made about this draft document. This Niko Jozic criticized the report for failing to assess the present situation in Yugoslavia. Jozic was induced, as he said, to point this out primarily by the fact that it has now become uncertain whether the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] will be held at all. In his words, the present preparations for the congress do not indicate that the congress documents can be prepared on time and that we will come to the congress with stands that have been coordinated at least to a certain extent. In the meantime conflicts among the republics have intensified and the divisions have even gone as far as causing withdrawals from federal organs. There are enough examples of this, including the correspondence between the Slovene and Serbian leaderships, the rift in the Socialist Youth Federation of Yugoslavia, and the Slovene writers leaving the Yugoslav Writers Association.

Nika Jozic's view was shared by several members who also thought it necessary for the report on the work of the LC of Croatia to give a more comprehensive assessment of relations and processes in Yugoslavia and in the LCY.

Marijan Mitrovic criticized the report for not giving a more comprehensive analysis of the causes of and motives for members leaving the LC. The facts are such, she said, that they must be worrying to us all and we cannot go into a congress without it being clear what the reasons are for the membership drain.

Replying to Jozic and several other members who supported his speech, Stanko Stojcevic said that the LC of Croatia will give a comprehensive analysis of the political processes taking place in Yugoslavia when it receives the draft of the congress documents for the 14th LCY congress. The opportunity will not be missed for clearly stating the stand of the LC of Croatia.

Finally, the LC was briefed on the nomination procedure for the LC of Croatia. More than 20,000 candidates have been nominated for all posts in the LC of Croatia and the LCY. However, despite this number of candidates, the LC assessed that it would be worth calling for additional candidates since the old illness was being repeated, in that there is a lack of women, workers, and young people on the nomination lists.